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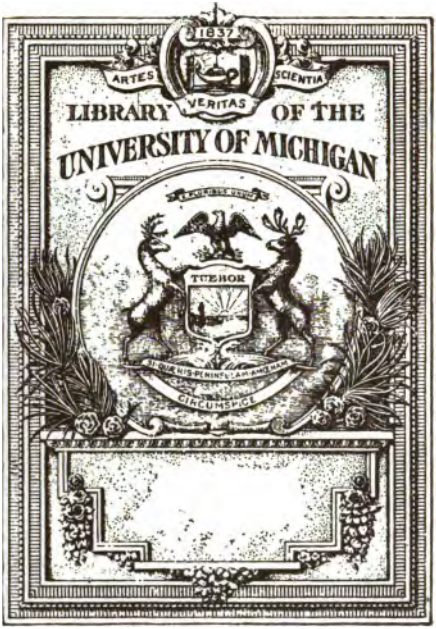
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Miscellanea Scotica.

A
COLLECTION
OF
TRACTS
RELATING TO THE
History, Antiquities, Topography,
AND
LITERATURE
OF
SCOTLAND.

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Contents

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Memoirs of Lord Viscount Dundee—The Highland Clans—The Massacre of Glenco—An Account of Dundee's Officers after they went to France—Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh—Siege of the Bass—Navigation of King James V. Round Scotland—Letter from the Nobility, &c. of Scotland, in the year 1320, to Pope John, declaring their adherence to Robert Bruce—Treatises on Second Sight, by M'Leod, Fraser, Martin, and John Aubrey, F. R. S.

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MEMOIRS
OF THE
Lord Viscount Dundee,
THE
HIGHLAND CLANS,
AND
THE MASSACRE OF GLENCO:

WITH
An Account
OF
DUNDEE'S OFFICERS AFTER THEY WENT TO FRANCE.

BY AN OFFICER OF THE ARMY.

Non ille pro caris Amicis
Aut Patria timidus mori. *HOR. CARM. Lib.* 4, *Ode* 9.

Quis Cladem illius Noctis, quis funera fando
Explicet—— *VIRG. ÆNEID. Lib.* 2.

——Series longissima Rerum
Per tot ducta Viros—— *IBID. Lib.* 1.

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THE PREFACE.

NOTHING but the respect I bear to my country, and the injustice I see it suffer, both by party and national writers, could engage me to undertake so insuperable a labour. The first write as they affect, with prepensed resolutions of doing no justice, but heaping all advantages on their own party, and a dash from their malicious pen, can make Glenlyon that massacred Glenco, Glenlyon the Sacred. Every day we see as great contradictions in their scurrilous papers which they scatter about, and their inflamed passions swelled to that pitch, that neither church nor state, nor even the queen herself, is free from their lashes. The queen is lashed!

As for national historians, who are aliens, and have no interest in a country, nor love for it, they must have a natural aversion to it, in many respects, especially when its virtue and honour stand in competition with theirs; and therefore are inclinable to misrepresent or eclipse the heroic actions of another nation, and give them such a turn in the style, that the reader shall not improve, nor the country have any credit by them. All generals swallow up partilars, and although of different natures, often give them tastes and colours like themselves. As soon as rivers enter the ocean, they lose their fresh-water taste and crystalline colours, and become green and saltish, by reason of the stronger body that overcomes them; so England, being richer and more powerful than her neighbours, gives better encouragement to hirelings and scribblers, and consequently never wants her cause managed to the best advantage, and oft to the detriment of others, to make herself glorious. When on my travels I read the English news, and saw many books published, it grieved me exceedingly, to think that so much good and substantial history, that might be useful and honourable to posterity, should be lost and buried in oblivion. This is the only argument that engaged me to list myself in the crowd. Histories are the records of honour, and of every thing that is good and great; the life and soul of virtue and religion, and, like a microscope, magnify and illuminate all the heroic actions and exploits of our ancestors, and create in us an ambitious emulation to excel them, or a modest blush to conceal our own imperfections. If any man, for reasons best known to himself, should decry my history, why did he not write it? It is twenty years since the things were transacted, and now is the time or never. *Cum tua non edas carpas mea carmina noli.* A servant that does his duty, though with some mistakes and errors, is preferable to him that knows it better, but never endeavours any performance. He is a brave man that courts a woman of quality and degree above himself, and who knows but he may gain her affections? But he is timorous and faint-hearted that dares not address what he loves, and deserves no fine mistress. This is my comfort, what I write is my own, and there are many eye-witnesses living to confirm it; neither can there be any history wrote of Scotland, for forty years past, but what must be obliged to me, and I am obliged to no man, except for the account of the inhuman massacre of Glenco, which has been privately handed about ever since a few months after the barbarous action, and I have taken it verbatim from the original. What the learned author of the three volumes of the History of England writes of Scotland, is so short and general, that no man can improve by it; and what these ignorant party scribblers writ of king James and king William's lives, are so false and biassed that they lead men into gross mistakes and errors, and occasion many dangerous disputes between the readers and witnesses. The author of king William's impudently affirms, that the Lord Viscount Dundee had 6000 men at Gillicranky, and that Mackay had 4000; whereas Dundee had but 2000, and Mackay above 6000, which many of both kingdoms can testify. What is written of Scotland is so much stained and tainted with an antimonarchical and national pencil, that it is not to be credited; every man writing to satisfy the particular gust and relish of his own irregular appetite and party-desire, without any respect of truth and honour to their neighbours.

I confess, that if this substantial history, which I have comprehended in eleven sheets, had been in some men's hands, and agreeable to their humours, they would have swelled them into volumes, and have writ the glorious actions performed by Dundee and the clans in golden letters, and reposed them in all colleges and libraries, as sacred and divine; then we should have had nothing but draughts and landscapes of Gillicrankies and Glencoes in all noblemen's and gentlemen's parlours, with large encomiums and characters to his praise, confirmed with full glasses to his memory. But his ill fortune was, his loyalty became a crime! And he who took the sacrament in the church of England two days before he was killed, and all his life-time was a strenuous promoter of episcopacy in Scotland, had the misfortune to oppose the sacred Revolution, whereby our laws, liberties and religion, were preserved. But we see generals, with other men, have their different fates; some die in battle for their honour, others fly their country for their treasure. Dundee and the clans fought it bravely, and he died in the field of battle; Glenco and his followers took the oaths, became loyal and obedient subjects, and lived peaceably and quietly under the established government, yet were inhumanly massacred. Now, which had the best on't? Dundee and his clans for their rebellion, or Glenco and his followers for their loyalty. It will puzzle a country parson to resolve.

Whether was it better for Major-General Buchan and Cannin, with their officers, to go to France, and live sparingly on what their unfortunate master king James could allow them, or stay at home, and live peaceably, and be Glencoed?

Whether was it better for the Scots episcopal clergy, at the Revolution, to fly into England for shelter and succour, than stay in Scotland, and see their wives and children abused, their houses plundered, and themselves Glencoed? The ill usage many met with in Scotland, made them Jacobites contrary to their inclinations, and fly into England, even to St. Germains itself, where they were kindly received and assisted by a distressed prince, which gave them so deep a tincture then, that it cannot be washed off now.

Whether or no, in the late government, durst the disaffected party assemble in mobs at Charing-Cross, with many of the king's officers at their heads and amongst them, in chairmen and watermen's clothes, and their nobility, in chocolate and coffee houses, inveighing against the king and ministry, as some do at present, notwithstanding we have a gracious queen and a good ministry, that have procured us a happy, and I hope a lasting, peace; and thanks be to God, a glorious and unanimous parliament, that appoints wholesome laws for the preservation of our religion and liberties?

But with profound submission, clemency in many circumstances is a crime, especially in princes, when the quiet and safety of their government is concerned. There are some that maintain hereditary right to such a degree, that nothing but their grandfather's fates will satisfy them. It was an old saying amongst the cavaliers in Scotland, that whilst there is a C——ll or D——le in power, a Stewart will never be safe on the throne; and king Charles II. used to say, when he heard of any divisions or rebellions in Scotland, he was sure there was a C——ll or D——le at the bottom on't. When the dry bones of a loyal Grahame rattled in their coffin, and called for justice and a resurrection, it was full time for some to think on a maiden, and that rebellion was a mortal sin.

'Tis surprizing that neither example nor experience can teach some restless spirits their duty, whose desires, like the grave, are never to be satisfied, and their ambitious minds exceed all limits of reason and discretion. In reading these Memoirs, you will find all paternal care that could be used by fathers and kings, practised by king Charles II. and king James II. to reclaim the presbyterians from their rebellions. But the more favours the government heaped upon them, more stubborn and rebellious they were. King Charles gave them churches of their own in several shires in the kingdom; and when they were not satisfied, connived at their meetings in private houses, till at last they kept their conventicles amongst rocks and mountains, and preached rebellion publicly, debauching the people from their allegiance; and when Clavers received his commission to march with his horse and dragoons to the western shires to suppress them, it was always limited, and with a caution from the government to use them mercifully, and that the neighbouring gentlemen and ministers should converse with them, give them their best advice, and hear their allegations. But nothing could prevail; all admonition and instruction to them was lost; for they turned from bad to worse. Several of them took arms, and came privately in the night to ministers' houses, whom they plundered, and forced to swear they should never preach again, else they would murder them. They likewise plundered several gentlemen's houses, whom they knew to be for the government, and murdered Clavers' soldiers wherever they catched them. At this time his Grace the duke of York was in Scotland, who was concerned to hear of the commotions and troubles in the west, and ordered that some prisoners should be brought to Edinburgh to be examined. Accordingly there were three sent, who were found so ignorant and simple on their examinations, that his Grace gave orders to set them at liberty, upon condition that they should say God save the king, which they positively denied; then his Highness asked if there was a bedlam in the country to put them in, and declared, that if they were hanged, it was his opinion their blood was on the nation. Notwithstanding, according to their sentence of condemnation, they were brought to the place of execution, and his Grace being uneasy, sent the lord Roscommon with a pardon to them, who came close to the scaffold, and one of them being hanged, made a handsome speech to the other two, offering them their pardon if they would say God save the king. The next to be hanged was John Potter, who seemed to be in a doubt, and it was believed would have accepted of the pardon, but his wife took him by the arm, and almost pushed him over the ladder, and said, Go die for the good old cause; my dear, see such a man (meaning the hanged man) will sup this night with Christ Jesus. So in fine, the other two were hanged; but what was the woman's design in having her husband hanged, surprized many.

At this time, about thirty of those deluded people left their families and business, and went to the hills, where they lived in rocks and caves for some weeks. John Gib, sailor in Borrowstowness, Walter Ker, in Trafritham, ——— Gemmison in Linlithgow, were their chief leaders. They called themselves the sweet singers of Israel, eat nothing that there was salt in, or paid tax to the king, blotted the name of king out of their bibles, and cohabited all together. When a party of dragoons took them at the Ouffins, in Tweedale, they were all lying on their faces, and jumped up in a minute, and called out with an audible voice, That God Almighty would consume the party with fire from heaven, for troubling the people of God. On the road as they went to Edinburgh, when any of their relations or acquaintances came to visit them, they spit at them, and threw themselves on their faces and bellowed like beasts, whereof his Highness being informed, ordered them immediately to be set at liberty.

At this juncture of madness in the west of Scotland, Clavers received his orders to suppress them, which he managed with so great prudence and conduct, that his enemies both loved and feared him; his friends applauded his mercy and tenderness to his countrymen, many whereof, by his pathetic advice and instructions, came over to the king's party, and his master amply rewarded his good service, by conferring new posts of honour and profits every day upon him, whose heroic actions demonstrate his love to his country, and martial spirit exceeds the bounds of my imagination to describe; therefore I refer you to the learned Dr. Pitcairn's character of him in the following Epitaph:

HIS EPITAPH.

Ultime Scotorum, potuit, quo sospite solo,
Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ:
Te moriente, novos accepit Scotia cives,
Accepitque novos, te moriente, deos.
Illa nequit superesse tibi, tu non potes illi,
Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane, vale:
Tuque vale, gentis priscæ fortissime ductor,
Ultime Scotorum, ac ultime Grame, vale.

Fergus' last son, had'st thou alone but liv'd,
Our liberty and our country had surviv'd:
But oh! thou'rt gone! and Scotland finds this odds,
A king that's new, new subjects, and new gods.
In thee we liv'd, in thee we died together;
Scotland's vain name, adieu, adieu for ever!
And fare thou well, brave prop of our old state,
Last Scot, last Grahame, and last of all was great.

AN ELEGY

IN MEMORY OF

THE GALLANT VISCOUNT DUNDEE,

WHO WAS KILLED BY A RANDOM SHOT,

After he had won the Battle at Killecrankie.

WRIT BY MR. BROWN,

At the request of

DR. GRIFFITH AND MR. BURGES.

Fors et virtus miscentur in unum.——*Virg. Æneid.* 12.

GODDESS, to urge me on, forbear,
Or make my mournful song thy care;
Oppress'd with doubts, and mighty wo,
I'd sing the Man, that all mankind should know,
How brave he fought, how conquer'd, and how fell,
And in what cause assist me whilst I tell.
Quickly the news was hither brought,
Too true, alas! that he was dead,
And all our expectations fled;
But yet we would not entertain the thought.
Between the extremes of Hope and Fear,
Confus'd we stood, the truth to hear,
Until 'twas made at last too plain,
Beyond all doubt the great unconquer'd man was slain.

Forgive me, Heaven, that impious thought,
At first I question'd your Supreme Decree,
Love to my King the madness wrought,
And grief for the world's loss, the brave DUNDEE.

Oh! frail estate of man below,
Well to our cost your emptiness we know,
Scarce from the fury he had pass'd
Of a mistaken factious race,
But other dangers follow him as fast,
And trace him as he goes from place to place:
His friends desert, his foes pursue,
Yet still undaunted he goes on;
New dangers but his mind and strength renew,
So brave, so just, so good, was this unalter'd man.

Tho' much o'ermatch'd in men and arms,
His cause and courage only best,
And his example far above the rest:
Firmly resolv'd, he meets the num'rous foe;
But first, with cheerful anger in his face,
Soldiers and friends, he spoke, I'm sure you know
For what intent, and for whose sake we go;
And then he bow'd, and briefly told the case.

His Speech to his Soldiers.

A King entail'd, by long descent,
Equal almost to time in its extent,
Robb'd of his throne, for sure it must be so
Nor God nor Nature can,
Only presumptuous man,
Be guilty of so black an overthrow.
What's worse, to palliate the pretence,
Harmless Religion too is brought,
Falsely and indirectly us'd,
And all her sacred mysteries abus'd,
Beyond what the dark sybils ever taught.

And can we stand, my friends, this great offence?
Can we stand idly by
And see our Mother robb'd, at last condemn'd to die,
And not endeavour for some recompense?
Envy and Fraud, Hypocrisy and Pride,
And bold Ambition arm'd for parricide;
The certain loss of liberty and laws,
And usurpation, an intolerable cause.
All these, and more, have brought us here;
Let no man doubt, let no man fear;
His cause is just, and if he falls to day,
For so by chance he may,
At worst, his name shall wear
A large and noble character;
But his exalted soul shall fly
The boundless pitch of vast eternity.

He spoke; his soldiers much approve;
Despair and Fear quit ev'ry breast,
Rage and Revenge their place possess'd:
And then with wond'rous order t'wards the foe they move.
But who th' amazement and th' affright can tell,
That on the other army fell?
Or who, without astonishment, can say,
The wond'rous things this great man did that day?
In vain their routed squadrons fly,
In vain, aloud, for help they cry,
The battle's lost, and they must yield or die.

But, see of human things the brittle state!
The only best, and best deserving man,

That should have breath'd beyond the common
span,
The last that meets triumphantly his fate;
As he was lifting up his hand,
To give the finishing command,
Comes a malicious random shot,
And struck the victor dead upon the spot.
Methinks I see the wounded hero lye,
Too good to live, and yet too brave to die;
I hear him bless his cause, and more he had to say,
But, oh! the hasty soul could make no longer stay.

Unconquer'd man, farewell!
Now thou art gone to dwell
Where thou shalt be entirely free
From all the curses of mortality.
No anxious thoughts shall rack thy breast,
No factions shall disturb thy rest;
Nor shalt thou be by tyranny oppress'd.
Thy learning and thy parts,
Thy knowledge in the noblest, useful arts,
Thy conversation and thy wit,
Spoke thee for Earth unmeet, for Heav'n only fit.
Live blest above, almost invok'd below;
Live, and accept this pious vow,
Our captain once, our guardian angel now;
Live, and enjoy those great rewards are due
To those who to their Prince are faithful, just, and
true.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LORD VISCOUNT DUNDEE.

MEMOIRS, like pictures, are exposed to a double censure. First, from those who dislike the principles of the person represented, and upon that account, have conceived a distaste to all their actions; and their malice and spleen rises in proportion to the merit they dislike: Some will accuse the author of flattery, and charge him with going beyond the truth; others will cry he is a party-man, and therefore not to be credited; and some critical geniuses will be offended at the style for wanting elegancy and the embellishments of rhetoric.

The other censure is fastened upon him by the ignorant, who have no taste of loyalty, nor sense of honour. If you tell them of loyal and heroic action, of enduring hardships for their king and country, they look upon you as one that has a design of imposing upon them, and your history passeth with them for no better than romance, and the mere coinage of men's brains.

My memoirs are designed for neither of these, though they both have the liberty to peruse them, to grind their teeth, chew them, and swallow them; and I wish they may give them a loyal purge, and carry of all anti-monarchical and factious principles.

Two sorts of men are invited to read my memoirs; The first are, all honest and loyal subjects to the Queen, who will find them adapted to their genius, and confirming their allegiance to the government.

The other are those worthy and honourable gentlemen, who have loyal principles in their hearts, but are under the sad necessity of concealing them, by reason of their dependence on some of the Anti-Stuartan families, and supplies from ignominious coffee-wenches, are therefore obliged to frequent some assemblies, where nothing but treasons are hatched, and invectives belched out against her majesty and the ministry. These gentlemen I desire to read the following memoirs, in which they'll learn their duty to her majesty, without whose immediate benevolence, they can have no means of subsisting; and their demeanour to the ministry whose prudent conduct has settled a fund for their support, and procured a glorious peace, and will improve it into a complete blessing, by an open trade, and increase of treasure, if we'll allow them time for so great a work, and in the mean while live quietly and peaceably among ourselves.

JOHN GRAHAM of Claverhouse, descended of Graham of Fintray, who was the eldest son of a second marriage of John Graham designed of Dunduff, (one of the progenitors of the present Duke of Montrose,) and his second wife Mary Stewart, daughter to King Robert III. and his Queen, Annabel Drummond.

This John Graham of Claverhouse, was created Viscount of Dundee and Didope by King Charles II. This worthy gentleman, with the happy advantages of an hereditary loyalty, and a liberal education in Humanity and Mathematics, in which he made a very considerable progress, to qualify himself for the service of his king and country, travelled into France, where he spent some time in the French service as a volunteer, with great reputation and applause. For his farther improvement, he went from thence to Holland, where his early inclination to arms recommended him to the Prince of Orange, who made him Cornet of one of his own troops of guards, which post soon gave him an opportunity of showing himself to the world. For at the battle of St. Neff, 1674, when the Prince of Orange was dismounted, and in great danger of being taken, he rescued him, and brought him off upon his own horse. His Highness requited this brave action, by making him Captain of one of his troops of guards. This, together with his other distinguished merits, recommended him to the favour of King Charles and the Duke of York, and made him as universally feared as known by his enemies. One of the Scots regiments in Holland becoming vacant, his interest with the Court of England, and the Prince of Orange's promises for services performed, encouraged him to stand candidate for the regiment, which a Dutch interest carried against him. He resented this affront so highly, as to leave the Dutch service, and return to Scotland in the year 1677, where King Charles II. raised a regiment of foot, and three independent troops of horse, the first of which he gave to Captain John Graham of Claverhouse. About which time, those turbulent people, the Whigs, began to keep their conventicles in the west of Scotland, and frequent them with horse and arms, in an insolent and open defiance of the peaceable and tender government, who were obliged to send Clavers with his own troop and some others of dragoons, to suppress their factious meetings; which he endeavoured with all possible prudence and civility, but without success; he conversed with some of their ministers and leading men, and represented to them the danger they exposed themselves to, by disturbing so indulgent a government; and at the same time advised them to make their application to his Majesty, who would be sure to grant them their requests as far as reasonable: But they were too obstinate to condescend to his advice. He often imposed fines and mulcts on them, to frighten them into their allegiance, but never exacted one farthing: No argument of religion or reason, could possibly prevail with them, but they still presumptuously advanced, and boldly increased their rebellious meetings, and often opposed the king's troops, when they gently endeavoured to disperse them; and at last grew so very impudent, as to hold their meetings in the very face, and under the nose of the king's garrison.

The first act of rebellion they committed, was at Whitekirk-hill, in East Lothian, in view of the Bass. Near twelve hundred of the Whigs assembled; and Mr. Charles Maitland, Governor of the Bass, went ashore with twelve men, and earnestly intreated them to disperse, and not to hold their meetings in sight of the king's garrison, it being contrary to the established laws of the nation. They immediately assaulted him and his men, killed one, and wounded the rest, himself very narrowly escaping. Yet the government was so merciful, that only one Learmont a pedlar was executed at Edinburgh for the murder, though several others were known to be equally guilty.

The next murder that blood-thirsty and wicked people committed (to the eternal shame and sorrow of their country) was on the body of Dr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, on the third of May, 1679. His Grace returning home in his coach with his daughter, about three miles from St. Andrews, was assaulted by nine ruffians, who cut the traces of the foremost horses, wounded the postilion, and imperiously commanded the archbishop to come out of his coach, who immediately complied, and earnestly implored the liberty to say his prayers. The ruffians objected he had frequently prevented their prayers, and instantly three of them killed him, by giving him many wounds in the head and body; and that the other six might be equally guilty in the execrable action, they cut him, when dead, in several parts of his head and body: They also maltreated his daughter for dutifully offering to assist her father.

The flagitious villains were so steeled in their wickedness, that at Drumclog, and Bothwell-bridge, they publicly owned the murder, and wickedly gloried in it. Only one of them, Haxton of Rathillit, was apprehended at Airs-moss, and hanged at Edinburgh. The rest fled to Holland, that common sanctuary of British rebels and murderers; and on the Prince of Orange's arrival in England, Dr. Fleming, one of the assassins, who came over with him, publicly appeared every day on the Royal Exchange, and practised physic in London many years, without ever being arraigned for so inhuman and barbarous a murder.

After this bloody fact they kept their meetings in great numbers, and well armed, and were often too strong for the few regular troops under the command of Clavers. On the first of June, 1678, three thousand Whigs assembled at Drumclog in the shire of Ayr, many of them well armed: Whereof Clavers being informed, marched towards them with his own troop, and forty dragoons, and attacked them in a bog, where the Whigs behaved themselves very desperately, killed twenty-seven of his troopers and dragoons, as also his Cornet, one of his own name, and a relation; and imagining him to be Clavers, they barbarously thrust many swords into his dead body, and beat his head into a jelly.

Clavers very providentially escaped, by dismounting one of his trumpeters, when his own horse's guts were cut out with a scythe. The Whigs, that night, at Streven in Clydesdale, murdered all their prisoners, and Clavers was obliged to retreat to Glasgow, where my Lord Ross lay with two regiments of foot, and there my Lord Ross and Clavers barricadoed all the lanes and streets in the town, where the next day they were boldly attacked by four thousand Whigs, who with great loss were repulsed out of Glasgow; whence returning three miles off to Shawhead-moor, they were there joined by others to the number of sixteen thousand men.

Upon which my Lord Ross and Clavers thought fit to retreat to Striveling, to join the rest of the king's forces there. Which retreat, with the success the rebels had in their skirmish at Drumclog, encouraged them to declare an open rebellion, and a defiance of the king's troops at Bothwell-bridge.

On the 10th of June, 1679, Clavers, with forty horse and forty dragoons, surprised at Bewly-bog above three hundred and fifty rebels well armed, going to join their main body near Bothwell-bridge, killed seventy-five, and took many prisoners.

About this time, the Earl of Linlithgow was created Major-General in the place of Sir George Monro, and had gathered all the standing troops of the nation together at Falkirk; where he was joined by my Lord Ross and Clavers. His army consisted of one troop of horse guards, two regiments of foot, three independent troops of horse, and three troops of dragoons, with which he marched to Glasgow to suppress the rebels: but when he came to Inchbelly-bridge, near Kilsyth, he received orders from the Privy-Council, to return back to Edinburgh with all the king's forces, which very much surprised all the officers of the army, but more particularly Clavers, who offered, with a thousand horse and foot, to disperse the rebels, or never to return himself alive. But the Earl of Linlithgow's orders from the Privy-Council were so positive and binding, that he durst not hazard it, but returned back to Edinburgh; which so encouraged the rebellious Whigs, that they flocked together in shoals, and formed a camp in Bothwell-moor, about eight miles towards the east of Glasgow, and two miles towards the west of Hamilton, where they encamped until they were dispersed by the king's forces.

Neither was king and government idle in this unlucky juncture; for they raised all the militia in the kingdom, and called in two regiments of dragoons, commanded by Colonel Oglethorp, and Major Main, then at summer quarters in the north of England, to their assistance: Then all the forces marched from Edinburgh on Monday, and on Tuesday to Kirkhill-park, which is about nine miles, and the next day to Moorhead. On Tuesday, his Grace the Duke of Monmouth came to Edinburgh, and on Thursday he joined the army, and on Saturday at night, or rather Sunday morning, being the 22d of June, 1679, his Grace marched with his army to Bothwell-bridge, where twelve thousand rebels were encamped. The Duke, by his Majesty's special commission, offered them every third church in the kingdom, with many other privileges, providing they would lay down their arms, and return home to their respective dwellings, and live quietly under the government.

The obstinate rebels refused all the royal mercies proposed them, so that immediately a party of dragoons were ordered to advance near the bridge, with two pieces of cannon, which beat down their barricadoes on the middle of the bridge. The king's army marched along the bridge, and having fired four field pieces at the Rebels horse, they all fled, and left their foot at the mercy of the Duke and his army. There were about fifteen hundred prisoners taken, and they owned there was a great number killed on the spot. Drumclog and Archbishop of St. Andrews' murder, were sufficiently revenged that day; and if Clavers and Oglethorp had been left to their own discretion, they had put an end to that rebellious crowd; and purged the nation of much superfluous and corrupted blood.

After the defeat the Rebels received at Bothwell-bridge, according to their innate principles, they still continued rebellious in the West of Scotland, which obliged the government to send Clavers to Galloway, with a party of horse and dragoons, to suppress their rebellious assemblies, who acted with so much discretion and prudence, sometimes threatening them with the rigour of the law, at other times using them with unexpected and undeserved clemency, that in a great measure he gained the affections of both the gentry and commons of that country. He was not covetous; for though he fined them according to law, he always forgave them, on condition they would go to church, submit themselves to the government, and live peaceably at home. But his dragoons were the only medicines to be applied to their distempers, and made them more tractable than all the advice he could give them.

For, on the seventeenth of July, 1680, about three hundred banditti of the Whigs, gathered together near Airsmoss, in the shire of Ayr; Earl

Hall, Clavers' lieutenant, having received information, marched immediately with eighty horse and dragoons to disperse them; who as soon as the king's troops appeared, retreated to the moss, fought it desperately, and killed seventeen of the king's troops; but at last were defeated, and many of them killed. The famous minister Cameron, and his brother, were both killed; and Haxton of Rathillet, one of the murderers of the Bishop of St. Andrews, was taken. This was the last actual rebellion they committed in K. Charles II.'s time, though they had many private meetings, which Clavers suppressed with so much prudence and tenderness, that the good character he received from his enemies as well as friends, obliged King Charles to create him a privy-counsellor; and it was observed, that in all his undertakings he was as successful as bold; for though my Lord Aberdeen's learning and politics recommended him to King Charles and the Duke of York, yet Clavers turned him out of favour, and was a great instrument of the Earl of Perth's advancement.

At a circuit court at Dumfries, some mistakes happened between Queensberry and Clavers, which obliged Clavers to leave the circuit, and in one day, when the ground was covered with snow, he rode from Dumfries to Edinburgh, which is above sixty long miles, the next day he took journey for London, and was there when King Charles died; and at King James' accession to the crown, he joining with Perth and Melford, they turned Queensberry out of favour.

About this time the Whigs began to renew their rebellions in Galloway, where they murdered the minister of Creforn in his bed, and coming afterwards to Kircudbright, killed a poor man there who was one of the sentries on the tolbooth, only for challenging *who comes there?* About six miles from Kircudbright, Clavers, with some horse and dragoons, attacked that party of Rebels that murdered the minister, chased them into a bog, killed seven or eight of them, and took some prisoners, who told him the murderer of the minister lay dead on the spot.

This is all I can observe transacted between Clavers and the Rebels in King Charles II.'s time, except some barbarous murders committed by the Rebels on Clavers' soldiers, whereof there are now living many eye-witnesses, both in England and Scotland.

William Cunningham and Andrew Cleveland, two dragoons, going out of Cumlock, in the shire of Ayr, were set upon by seven country fellows out of a wood; Cunningham was murdered, and at the intercession of some gentlewomen Cleveland was saved.

Oliphant and his comrade, two dragoons, quartered in the parish of Newmills, in the shire of Ayr, were both murdered by the Whigs on a Sunday morning, as they went to their conventicle: a glorious work before prayers!

Irvine, a dragoon, was killed between Douglas and Lanark, by a man and a woman who went along the road with him, until they came to a pass; the man threw him off his horse, and the woman killed him with his own sword.

Flesher, a trooper, coming home to his troop in Clydesdale, was murdered by six Whigs, thrown in a river, and found six weeks afterwards.

Two troopers, who went out of the garrison of Blahan, in the shire of Ayr, in the evening to walk, were both shot from the wood by the Whigs.

A single dragoon coming into a public house to ask the way to Blahan, a woman spinning on her distaff told him she would show him, and instead thereof, she immediately called six or seven men, and murdered the dragoon

At Entricken hill, some Whigs, hid in bushes, shot two of a party of Dundee's horse, as they passed that way.

At Swine-Abbey, in Linlithgowshire, James Carmichael, Laird of Little Blackburn, with a party of about fifty Whigs, murdered Captain Duncan Stewart, and Captain Kennuay, both gentlemen in the king's horse guards; and when several of the murderers were taken, the government was so merciful, as to offer them their lives, if they would but acknowledge that it was a murder, though they did not confess themselves to be the murderers; and moreover say, *God save the King*, which they obstinately chose rather to be hanged, than say. So if ever that party be in power, we see what monarchy and episcopacy may expect. This James Carmichael, of Little Blackburn, some years after he was married, got two women with child, and when they told him of their misfortunes, he appointed them separately to meet him at a private place, where he murdered them both, and threw them into a coal-pit. Some weeks afterwards he fell sick, and confessed the murder both of the captains and the women, and gave his confession in writing under his hand. Afterwards he recovered, and lived many years in King William's reign, without ever being questioned for the murders, because he was a holy brother.

At Bella-Path near Cumlock, in the shire of Ayr, the Whigs took one Houston a prisoner, from a small party of horse, commanded by Mr. James Affleck, and killed three of his party. And to foment our rebellions in Scotland, much about the time these murders were committed,

Argyll sailed from Ulye in Holland, on the 2d of May, 1685, with three ships, one of thirty, one of twelve, and one of six guns, and twenty boats. On the 5th of May, he appeared before the isles of Orkney, and sent his steward Mr. Spence, and his chirurgeon ashore, who were both apprehended by the inhabitants, and sent prisoners to the privy-council at Edinburgh. Argyll not finding that encouragement in the Orkney and other islands, and in the North of Scotland, he expected, sailed to the western parts of that kingdom, and landed at Dunstaffnage castle, in Lorn, where he left a strong garrison, and marched farther into the country, and there he published his rebellions declarations and manifestoes, which no man took notice of but his own friends and followers. Afterwards, he marched into Kintyre with three troops of horse, and about eight hundred foot, and from thence to Tarbot, where he was joined by two hundred Isla men: his ships and boats came round, and were attending his orders in the offing of Kintyre: there he went aboard, and sailed to the isle of Bute; where he himself landed, and marched to Rothsay in the isle of Bute; and finding no encouragement, returned to his ships, and sailed to Cowal in Argyllshire, designing to bring in his ships to Lochfyne: but hearing of two of the king's men of war, viz. the King's-fisher, and the Falcon, coming about in search of his ships, he fortified a small castle called Allengreg, and an adjacent rock, in which he put his arms, ammunition and artillery, and left one hundred and fifty men to defend the castle and ships, and then marched to the head of Lochfyne.

On the 11th of June, the Marquis of Athol having three hundred of the king's troops under his command, engaged about four hundred foot, and one hundred horse of Argyll's Rebels, killed many of them, and put them to the rout, which obliged Argyll to make a countermarch to Allengreg castle, where he staid till the 15th of June: then he marched with about six thousand men to Lennox in Dunbartonshire, and thence to Killearn, within four miles of Dunbarton, where my Lord Dunbarton, commander in chief of his Majesty's troops, was within three miles of Argyll's army: and Argyll seeing Dunbarton's army so numerous and well marshalled, at night made fires over all his camp, and by the light of them, decamped and dispersed all his people to their respective habitations; and never any of them appeared in a body again, except about an hundred and fifty, commanded by Sir John Cochran, posted within stone walls at Moordyke, where they were attacked by my Lord Ross, who commanded an hundred horse and dragoons: in the attack, my Lord Ross lost Captain Cleveland, and six or seven dragoons, but killed many of the Rebels, and put them to a total rout; and this was all the loss that Scotland suffered by Argyll's invasion. His lordship was taken by a private trooper in the water of Inchinnan, brought prisoner to Glasgow, and from thence to Edinburgh, by a party of the king's horse guards, and the Mid-Lothian gentlemen. They made his lordship come out of his coach at the Water-gate, and with a halter about his neck, led by the hangman, walk up the Cannongate, High-town, and into the castle; and on the 1st of June, his lordship was beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh.

All this time my Lord Dundee was on the borders of Scotland, with some troops of horse, to prevent all insurrections and communications between Monmouth and Argyll, and there is nothing more worthy our observation transacted in Scotland during King James' reign, till the Revolution, when the Scots troops marched into England: but after the dissolution of King James' army on Salisbury plain, he returned back to Scotland, where the convention of Estates sat at Edinburgh.

November 9th, 1688, the Whigs in the West of Scotland, without any commission or order, came in herds to Edinburgh, to guard the convention; and not being unprovided of their essential qualities, malice and revenge, no man that had served in King Charles the II., or King James' reigns, was safe in the streets. These things, with some other proceedings of the convention, and private designs against my Lord Viscount Dundee, obliged his lordship to leave the convention and city of Edinburgh: he took about thirty horse with him, and went down Leith-Wynd, and along the way called the Lang-gate. He halted his party over against the castle, near the West-kirk, and went by himself up to the castle wall, where he had half an hour's conference with his Grace the Duke of Gordon, and afterwards returned to his party, and that night went to Linlithgow. What discourse his Grace the Duke of Gordon and Dundee had together, is not known to many; but it is evident, from the consequences of Dundee's affairs in the Highlands, that if his grace had left the government of the castle to his lieutenant governor Windram, and gone to the Highlands with my Lord Dundee, and there raised his Clans, it would have tended more to King James' interest. But men of great estates do not like to run great hazards.

Dundee went to Linlithgow the first night after he left Edinburgh; and the next day he passed Striveling-bridge, and went to his own house at Diddup, near Dundee, where he staid some days. Afterwards he was pursued by General Mackay, with fifteen troops of horse, through Perthshire, Angus, Aberdeenshire, Buchan, Banff, Murray, and Nairn; and on the 1st of May, 1689, Dundee, with one hundred and fifty horse, joined M'Donald of Keppoch, who lay before Inverness with nine hundred men, forcing them to perform their allegiance to King James, who, eight days before my lord's arrival, had proclaimed the Prince of Orange King; and for some other unneighbourly practices of the town of Inverness, and the M'Intoshes, against Keppoch's people, when he and his brother were in Ireland with King James. But family quarrels being no part of my history, I decline them.

The town of Inverness gave Keppoch two thousand dollars to be gone: Dundee mildly composed all their disputes, and showed himself so generous a peace-maker, that he gave his bond for the money. Afterwards Dundee sent friendly for M'Intosh, to reconcile him and Keppoch together, who denied coming to his lordship, though they were relations. Upon which, Dundee ordered Keppoch to drive away M'Intosh's cattle, some of which were kept for the service of the army, and the rest were sent to Keppoch's tenants. Then Dundee marched to Keppoch, and staid six weeks; and from thence, privately, with one hundred and fifty horse, to Perth, where early in the morning he took the Lairds of Blair and Pog prisoners, thirty horses, and nine thousand merks of the king's cess and excise. Then he marched to Dundee, where the citizens shut the gates, and denied him entrance. From thence he went to his own house, Diddup, two miles from Dundee, and tarried two nights with his lady. He returned to Keppoch, where he remained six weeks; and from thence marched with one thousand five hundred foot, and two hundred horse, to Badenoch, against General Mackay, and the Laird of Grant, who had about six thousand men, and chased them day and night till they past Strathbogie, where he encamped three days at Edinglassy. On the fourth day, he received intelligence that Sir John Laneer's regimen of horse, a regiment of dragoons, Ramsay's regiment, and other two regiments of foot, had joined General Mackay, which obliged him to retreat to Keppoch, where he remained six weeks, till he was joined by the honourable Sir Donald of the Isles, with five hundred men, who by reason of an indisposition, was obliged to return home, but left his son young Sir Donald, with my Lord Dundee. Then his Lordship appointed all the Clans, with their friends and followers, to meet him at the Blair of Athol the next Tuesday, and that himself, the Honourable Sir Alexander M'Donald of Glengary, Sir John M'Lean, young Sir Donald of the Isles, the Captain of Clanronald, and Sir Hugh Cameron of Locheil, would go and raise the Badenoch and Athol men against that day; but his Lordship marching to Dalnamin, in the Braes of Athol, on Tuesday night, hearing that General Mackay was come to Perth, which obliged his Lordship to hasten his march to the Blair of Athol, where he arrived on Saturday the 13th of June, 1689, at twelve o'clock. In the afternoon his Lordship's spies returned, and told him, that General Mackay, with his army, consisting of nine regiments of foot, and two troops of horse, were marching through the pass of Killecrankie; on hearing that intelligence, my Lord Dundee immediately marched his army, consisting of one thousand eight hundred foot, and forty-five horse, to the hills on the north side of the water Tummel, where General Mackay's army appeared to be marshalled in one line, and three men in a file, in a young bushy wood, having a plain before them, and a plain at the foot of the little hills behind them, near the river Tummel.

The Clans earnestly intreated Dundee not to engage in person, and told his Lordship, their method of fighting was quite different from that of regular troops: again desired him to consider that if he should be killed, King James' interest would be lost in Scotland: but no argument could dissuade him from engaging at the head of his troops. General Mackay's army out-winged Dundee's near a quarter of a mile, which obliged the Clans to leave large intervals between each Clan, and by declining towards the wings, they wanted troops to charge the centre, where a detachment of Lesly and Hastings' English regiments were. The Highlanders threw away their plaids, haversacks, and all other utensils, and marched resolutely and deliberately in their shirts and doublets, with their fusils, swords, targets, and pistols ready, down the hill on the enemy, and received Mackay's third fire before they pierced his line, in which many of the Highland army fell, particularly Lord Viscount Dundee, their General; the terror of the Whigs, the supporter of King James, and the glory of his country. Then the Highlanders fired, threw down their fusils, rushed in upon the enemy, with sword, target and pistol, who did not maintain their ground two minutes after the Higlanders were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say, there were scarce ever such strokes given in Europe, as were given that day by the Highlanders. Many of General Mackay's officers and soldiers were cut down through the skull and neck to the very breasts; others had skulls cut off above their ears like night-caps; some soldiers had both their bodies and cross-belts cut through at one blow; pikes and small swords were cut like willows; and whoever doubts of this, may consult the witnesses of the tragedy.

The detachments of Hastings and Lesly's regiments, maintained their ground till it was night, because Dundee wanted troops to charge them, and as they marched through the Pass of Killecrankie, they were so furiously attacked by the Athol men on the front, and by the Highlanders that had been in the battle, on the rear, that every man of them were either taken prisoners or killed.

In the battle, the Highlanders, besides their unparalleled General Dundee, lost the brave Pitcur, who like a moving castle in the shape of a man, threw fire and sword on all sides against his enemy. Colonel Gilbert Ramsay, M'Donald of Largo, his tutor and all his family; Glengary's brother, and many of his relations; and five cousin-germans of Sir Donald of the Isles, with many private Highlanders.

General Mackay lost his brother Colonel Mackay, Colonel Balfour, with about two thousand officers and soldiers, and was beat quite out of the field, himself very narrowly escaping with about twenty horse.

The first officer that left his post, in Mackay's army, was the Lord Leven: the glistering and clashing of the Highlandmen's swords and targets, scared his horse so much, that he ran six miles before he could draw bridle, which the brave Pittarthy can witness. No doubt, if her Majesty had been rightly informed of his care of the castle of Edinburgh, where there was not ten barrels of powder, when the Pretender was on the coast of Scotland, and of his courteous behaviour to the ladies; particularly, how he whipped the Lady Mortonhall, but she would have made him General for life.

After the battle, Dundee and Pitcur's corpses were intombed in the church of the Blair of Athol; and the next day, Major-General Cannin, who commanded the Highlanders, marched to Dunkeld, where he stayed two days to refresh his troops, and was joined by the Steward of Appin, the M'Gregors, and the whole county of Athol. From thence he marched to the Braes of Mar, where the Fergusons, Keppoch, young Locheil, Frazers, Gordons of Strathdoun, Glenlevet, and two hundred M'Phersons, joined him. Then he marched to Killdrummy, where they were joined with three hundred horse; and thence marching to the castle of Achindown, he received intelligence that General Mackay, with his army, was six miles from them, at the castle of Strathbogie.

At the castle of Achindown, Major-General Cannin received orders from King James in Ireland, to march to Argyllshire and Kintyre. His Majesty knowing well the innate rebellious spirit of those shires, thought it expedient to suppress them first. A council of war was called at Achindown castle, where it was argued, whether the low-country officers should sit in that council of war?

The Highlanders were of opinion they should not, because they had no troops under their immediate command; and they neither knew their method of discipline, nor way of fighting. Major-General Cannin, with the noble Earl of Dunfermling's interest, carried it against the Clans, that the low-country officers should sit in the council of war, where the disputes and controversies amongst them contributed very much to the detriment of King James' interest in the Highlands.

The Clans were for fighting General Mackay immediately, and placing garrisons in the castle of Strathbogie, Gordon castle, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, and Inverness; and afterwards to march through Lochaber into Argyllshire and Kintyre. But it was carried against the Clans, that the army should march, without fighting General Mackay, through Aberdeenshire, and over the Carnamount; over the hills of Mearn and Angus, till they came to Dunkeld, where my Lord Angus' regiment lay in garrison, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cleveland; and though that regiment had the advantage of walls, hedges, ditches, houses, and the like, the Highlanders beat them from their advanced posts, out of the town, where they were well covered, and from the town into the Marquis of Athol's house, which is a very strong garrison, where they killed the Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, and many other officers and soldiers. The Highlanders suffered a very inconsiderable loss.

Major-General Cannin marched with his army from Dunkeld to the Blair of Athol, where he stayed six days. That winter, Major-General Buchan, the Lord Seaforth, Colonel Brown, and some other officers, came from King James in Ireland, to Sir Donald of the Isles; and Buchan, by his commission, being eldest Major-General, commanded the army, and desired each Clan to give him one hundred men, promising with them to raise the low countries. The Clans gave him one thousand five hundred men, with whom he marched from Keppoch to Kilwhinnin, at the end of Lochness; thence over Strathspey, and stayed on the north side of the river ten days. From thence he marched to Culmakill, where he called a council of war to determine his next days march; and it was unanimously agreed, that they should march the next day to the woods of Glenlochy; but Major-General Buchan marched down the river of Spey to Crumdel, though all the Clans positively protested against that march.

On May 1st, Major-General Buchan had about one thousand five hundred men at Crumdel, lodged in villages round the country, and his advanced guards advantageously posted, when the want of intelligence, and the negligence of two captains, Brodie and Grant, each of them commanding one hundred men at the church, on the river Spey, suffered Sir Thomas Livingstone, with seventeen troops of dragoons, nine hundred of Grant's men, and three regiments of foot, to pass the river and church without any opposition, who fell upon Buchan and his Highlanders, sleeping in their tents and houses, and killed several of them, but to their expense; for the Highlanders fought in their shirts with swords and targets, and killed so many of the dragoons and their horses, that Sir Thomas never attempted any pursuit.

Afterwards, as is usual with the Highlanders, having been six weeks from their families, and wanting provision, they returned home to their respective habitations; and when they heard General Mackay was marching north, with an army of twenty battalions and squadrons, to put a garrison in Inverlochy, they drew to a body, but had not force sufficient to engage Mackay. Therefore it was agreed, that Major-General Buchan should march to Aberdeenshire, where he met with the Master of Forbes and Colonel Jackson, at the head of a considerable body of horse, who appeared at first as if they designed to give General Buchan battle; but his Mastership understanding the word of command *wheel*, better than *advance*, turned the battle into a race, and won; for he was first at Aberdeen, and alarmed the town with a frightful outcry, *the enemy, the enemy's coming!* Then all their engineers and skilful men were called to man their walls, plant guns, pattereroes, and other warlike engines upon them, though Major-General Buchan never designed to attack them.

At the same time Major-General Cannin marched from Lochaber to Perthshire; and from thence to the castle of Aberfoyle, where he attacked the Lord Cardross' dragoons, killed several, and chased the rest to the Park of Striveling. He also burned the lands of Cammes-More, and Edinchip; and afterwards Major-General Buchan, and Major-General Cannin joined in one body, with about five hundred horse, all gentlemen in the county of Lennox, and marched north, first to Lochaber, afterwards to Badenoch, and in a few days they dispersed. Major-General Buchan and his officers went to the honourable Sir Alexander M'Donald of Glengary; and General Cannin and his officers went to the honourable Sir Donald M'Donald of the Isles, where they stayed about nine months, till the Earl of Breadalbane came with a commission from King William, to treat with the Clans, by offering them £20,000, to own his government, and live peaceably. But his Majesty knew not, that the loyalty and honour of the Scots Highlanders was not to be overcome by force, or debauched by treasure. For they generously scorned the offer as base, and unworthy of noble thoughts; and only desired the liberty to send two of their officers to France, to acquaint King James with the state of their affairs, and when they received his orders, they would act accordingly. This favour with some difficulty was granted. Then General Buchan, General Cannin, and the Clans, agreed to send Sir George Barclay, and Major Menzies to France, to inform his Majesty of his affairs in the Highlands of Scotland, and of the dreadful miseries and extremities his Clans suffered and were reduced to, and humbly desired to know his royal will and pleasure. His Majesty with grief and concern received their commission, and graciously thanked the Clans for their loyalty, and told the commissioners, "that if ever it pleased God to restore him, he would not be unmindful of their loyalty, who, in past ages, had been always faithful to his ancestors; and that if it pleased God to call for him, he had a son, the young Prince, who he doubted not, by God's grace, if he lived, would be in a condition fully to reward their fidelity."

Then his Majesty gave them his orders, that the Clans should make the best articles they could for themselves, aud live peaceably and quietly under the government, as established in his kingdoms; and that Major-General Buchan, and Major-General Cannin, and their officers, should agree with the government to be transported to him at St. Germains. When the two officers returned from King James to the Highlands, the Major-Generals Buchan and Cannin, and the Clans, had a treaty with the government at Achalander in Glenorchy, in Strivelingshire, which with great joy and readiness received the Clans, and made many fair promises, that they should enjoy their liberties and properties as formerly, and should be defended against all their enemies; but the inhuman massacre of Glencoe is a memorable, and will be an everlasting testimony how those fair promises were performed.

The two Major-Generals, Buchan and Cannin, capitulated for themselves and their officers, with the government, and were allowed two ships to transport them to France.

It is evident as demonstration itself, from an exact survey of the Clans loyalty, courage and conduct in the Highlands, that nothing but King James' special command could have put a period to his affairs in that country. They, whom no Roman bravery nor policy, though flushed with victory and success wherever they came, could conquer;

but were forced to build walls, and draw lines, for some forty miles in length, to defend themselves from their descents and incursions; can we pretend to conquer so bold and martial a people?

A people, whom neither the British nor Pictish force, jointly nor separately, was able to subdue: nay the conquering Saxons, who overrun the south parts of our island, and marched northerly, with confirmed resolutions of reducing the whole under their subjection, soon found themselves in a mistake, and their career stopped by the ancient Scotch Highlanders.

Do not Danish histories in red letters deplore the loss of fifteen thousand men, who landed in the Frith of Murray, and were entirely cut off by the Highlanders. And if we descend to modern times, we can readily bring to our memories, the six remarkable battles gained by the great Montrose with his Highlanders, against the Rebels, who were regular troops, and always four times his number; and all English historians, not only confess, but applaud the gallantry of King Charles II.'s Highland army at Worcester, who showed so much resolution and bravery, against ten times their number, that even their enemies regretted their misfortunes, and the King himself ordered them to retreat from their posts; and God be thanked the loyal blood of their ancestors still freely runs in their childrens' veins, and they are always ready to shed the last drop in her Sacred Majesty's service and defence.

THE

SIEGE

OF

The Castle of Edinburgh.

THE Cameronians, who guarded the Convention of Estates at Edinburgh, being equally unhappy in their tempers, as in their principles of religion, maltreated every person that had served in King Charles II.'s or King James' reigns, and threatened often to pull his Grace the Duke of Gordon out of the castle, fired on his sentries, and committed many insufferable abuses both in city and country, which obliged his Grace to cut the wooden bridge over the moat, without the castle, where he ordered a single plank to be laid over, which could be removed at pleasure, to draw up the draw-bridge, and to post guards and sentries round the castle, which his enemies were pleased to say was done to the best advantage.

On the 11th of November, 1688, at night, thirty-three Highlanders came into the castle; and forty-four soldiers, who refused to serve under his Grace's command, went out; who, at the Low Guard, were stripped of their soldier's clothes by Sergeant Todd. The next day, the Convention sent the Marquis of Tweeddale to capitulate with his Grace, with a proposal of a year's pay to every soldier, upon the surrender of the castle; who courteously begged the Marquis to excuse him to the Convention, and to acquaint them, "That it was inconsistent with his honour to give up the castle, without his master King James' orders." The Marquis returned with this answer to the Convention, who immediately ordered my Lord Leven and the Cameronians to besiege the castle. The first work those experienced officers and soldiers undertook, was to draw a trench from the West Port to the West Kirk, which was performed with so great ignorance, that if his Grace had not been merciful, and a lover of his countrymen, he might have killed the most part of them, and done great mischief to the city of Edinburgh. After the Lord Leven and his Cameronians had thrown away some weeks in the siege, Sir John Laneer undertook it with equal success: Then General Mackay, the ungrateful General Douglas, and Captain Brown, came with some mortars and bombs from England, and they raised a battery at the Mouterhouse-hill, another at the castle of Collops, and another at Herriot's Work, behind which Captain Brown had a bomb-battery. The battery at the castle of Collops made a breach in the wall near the back gate, but the steepness of the hill made it impracticable. The other two batteries were of no use, and very much betrayed their Excellencies ignorance in besieging of towns. The next thing they ordered, was to carry wool-packs to the Castle-hill, and lay them near the blue stone, but the castle fired so hotly upon them with great and small shot, that they were forced to desist from that enterprise. Then they drained the North Loch, thinking that would dry up the well in the castle; nor did that succeed, for the castle well had always two fathom of water; and these were all the schemes projected to take the castle, which signified nothing, for the castle was impregnable: and his Grace being of an affable and courteous temper, and King James' interest so strong in and about Edinburgh, that the garrison never wanted good intelligence, fresh provisions, and other necessaries; and all the loss he sustained, was a brewing of ale, and one sentinel, Patrick Kelley; whereas the besiegers lost above five hundred men; so that the ammunition being embezzled by Captain Drummond, Storekeeper, was the only reason that obliged his Grace to give up the castle, on the 13th of June, 1689.

THE

SIEGE

OF

THE BASS.

THE Bass is a strong rock in the Frith of Forth, standing between Fife and East Lothian, within five miles of Dunbar, in which there was a garrison of fifty men, commanded by a Captain and his respective officers, whereof Charles Maitland was governor, 1688, and defended strenuously for his master King James, till 1690. Then having small hopes of King James' restoration, wanting provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries, was forced to give it up to the government, who made Mr. Fletcher of Salton governor; he having four of King James' officers prisoners, they boldly surprised the garrison, and sent all the soldier's ashore, which being reported in the country, where there were many loyal families, they were supplied with men, provisions, and ammunition. Intelligence thereof being carried to France, to King James, there was a ship sent with all sorts of provisions and stores, and two boats, one that carried two pattararoes, twelve musquets, and rowed with twelve oars, and another smaller boat.

But afterwards their provisions falling short, the garrison sent the twelve-oared boat by night, to bring off some sheep and other necessaries, which they frequently received from their friends; and the Government being informed thereof, sent some companies to guard the coast, who surprised several of the garrison when they came ashore, and thereby their communication with the land being stopped, they went out by night in their boats, and took several ships: One laden with salt, whence having taken what was convenient, she was ransomed from Edinburgh; a Dutch dogger which they plundered and put off again, and a ship laden with wheat, which they thought to have carried to the Bass; but the wind proving contrary, drove them to the coast of Montrose, where she run ashore, and the men getting safe to land, dispersed in the country; and falling again short of provisions, they went in their boat to the isle of May, where they took several sheep, and what coals their boat could carry. But the Government being enraged at their repeated boldness, King William ordered the whole revenue of the kingdom to be expended on their reduction; and on that account sent two frigates, one of sixty, and another of fifty guns, who lay battering two days, without doing any damage to the garrison, though the ships had several of their men killed, and their rigging and sails cut and shattered, and their ships so much damnified, that they cost the treasury of Scotland about five hundred pounds to repair them.

Afterwards, there were two ships appointed constantly to attend that service, whereby the garrison was rendered uncapable of procuring any provisions by the use of the boats; however, there came after some time, a small privateer from Dunkirk, laden with rusk and other necessaries: But the garrison became so weak of men, that they had not hands enough to hoist up the rusk, but were obliged to borrow ten sailors to assist them; and when they got only seven bags into the garrison, the largest of the two ships bore down upon the privateer, who was forced to cut her cables, to prevent her being run down, so that the garrison was then in worse condition for holding out than before, having ten sailors added to their number, and only seven bags of rusk, which could serve but a short time; wherefore the Governor was obliged to put each man of the garrison to the allowance of two ounces of raw rusk dough in twenty-four hours.

About that time, Mr. Trotter was taken and condemned for aiding and assisting the place, and Captain Alexander Hallyburton, Captain William Frazer, Mr. William Witham, and Mr. William Nicholson, who belonged to the garrison, were taken on shore, and condemned to be hanged; and the day of Mr. Trotter's execution being come, the gibbet was erected at Castletown, and he being brought to the place, a gun was fired from the Bass amongst the crowd, which terrified them, and obliged them to remove the gibbet to a farther distance, where he was hanged. The rest, who lay in prison at Edinburgh under condemnation, were reprieved from time to time, till set at liberty by the capitulation.

At last the garrison being reduced to five or six days provision, according to the above-mentioned allowance, put out a flag of truce; whereupon the Government sending to know what they wanted, the garrison replied, that they would surrender upon terms, and drew up their own articles, upon which the honourable Privy-Council sent two of their number to the Bass, to acquaint them what conditions they would grant. The Governor, who had saved some bottles of the best French wine, and brandy, and some fine biscuit, made them drink plentifully, telling them there was no scarcity of provisions, and unless he had his own terms he would not surrender, delivering at the same time his articles to their Lordships; and after they were gone, he ordered all the caputs, coats and hats in the garrison, to be put on the muzzles of musquets, to make them believe the place was full of men; upon which their Lordships returned to the council, and reported how they were treated, and that the garrison was in every respect well provided, which induced the honourable council to comply with the Governor's articles, which were,

I. That the garrison should come ashore with their swords about them, and there should be a ship appointed by the government, with fresh provisions, to transport such of them as were willing to go to Dunkirk or Havre de Grace; and that in a month after the surrender, those who pleased to stay at home, might live without disturbance.

II. That all they had taken, or what belonged to them after they surprised the place, they should be allowed to dispose of to the best advantage, together with their boats, and all things pertaining to any of them.

III. That such of them as should incline to go abroad, might stay at Edinburgh until the ship was ready, without molestation, and have so much a day, according to their several stations.

IV. That all who had belonged to the garrison, or had aided or assisted it, should have the benefit of the capitulation; and those who were dispersed over the kingdom, should have a time to come in; and those who were condemned, in prison, or otherways distressed, should be set at liberty the same day the garrison should come ashore, without any fees or other charges whatsoever.

GALLIENUS REDIVIVUS;

OR,

MURDER WILL OUT, &c.

BEING

A TRUE ACCOUNT

OF

THE DE-WITTING

OF

GLENCO.

> "They gave out that the design of their coming was to introduce liberty and depose tyrants: But having gained the power, they did so tyrannize themselves, that the reign of former oppressors seemed a golden age, if compared with the arbitrariness and exactions of these pretended deliverers; which made the Sicilians think them more happy who expired in servitude, than those who lived to see such a dismal freedom."
>
> PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF TIMOLEON.

A

LETTER

FROM

A GENTLEMAN IN SCOTLAND, TO HIS FRIEND AT LONDON, WHO DESIRED A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE BUSINESS OF GLENCO.

Edinburgh, April 20, 1692.

SIR,

THE account you desired of that strange and surprising Massacre of Glenco, take as follows,

Macjan Mackdonald, Laird of Glenco, a branch of the Mackdonalds, one of the greatest clans, or tribes, in the north of Scotland, came with the most considerable men of his clan to Colonel Hill, Governor of Fort William at Inverlochy, some few days before the expiring of the time for receiving the indemnity appointed by Proclamation, which, as I take it, was the first of January last, intreating he would administer unto him the oaths which the foresaid Proclamation required to be taken, that so submitting himself to the government, he might have its protection. The Colonel received him with all expressions of kindness; nevertheless shifted the administering the oaths to him, alleging, that by the Proclamation it did not belong to him, but to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Regalities, and Magistrates of Burghs, to administer them. Macjan complaining that by this disappointment he might be wronged, the time being now near the expiring, and the weather so extreme, and the ways so very bad, that it was not possible for him so soon to reach any Sheriff, &c. got from Colonel Hill, under his hand, his protection; and withal he was assured, that no orders from the Government against him, should be put in execution, until he first were advertised, and had time allowed him to apply himself to king or council for his own safety. But the better to make all sure, (though this might have seemed security enough for that time,) with all dispatch imaginable he posted to Inveraray, the chief town of Argyleshire, where he found Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, Sheriff of that shire, and craved of him the benefit of the indemnity, according to the Proclamation, he being willing to perform all the conditions required. Sir Colin at first scrupled to admit him to the oaths, the time which the Proclamation did appoint being elapsed by one day, alleging it would be of no use to him then to take them: But Macjan represented that it was not his fault, he having come in time enough to Colonel Hill, not doubting but he could have administered the oaths to him, and that upon his refusal he had made such haste to Inveraray that he might have come in time enough, had not the extremity of the weather hindered him; and even as it was, he was but one day after the time appointed; and that it would be very unbecoming the Government to take advantage of a man's coming late by one day, especially when he had done his utmost to have come in time. Upon this, and his threatening to protest against the Sheriff, for the severity of this usage, he administered to him and his attendants the oaths, Macjan depending upon the indemnity granted to those who should take them; and having so done he went home, and lived quietly and peaceably under the Government, till the day of his death.

In January last, a party of the earl of Argyle's regiment came to that country; the design of their coming was then suspected to be, to take course with those who should stand out, and not submit and take the oaths. The garrison of Inverlochy being thronged, and Glenco being commodious for quartering, as being near that garrison, those soldiers were sent thither to quarter; they pretended they came to exact arrears of Cess and Hearth-money, (a tax never known in Scotland, until laid on by the Parliament 1690, after the Parliament of England had eased themselves of it.) Ere they entered Glenco, that laird, or his sons, came out to meet them, and asked them if they came as friends, or as enemies? The officers answered, as friends, and gave their parole of honour, that they would do neither him nor his concerns any harm. Upon which he welcomed them, promising them the best entertainment the place could afford. This he really performed, as all the soldiers confess, "he and they lived together in mutual kindness and friendship fifteen days, or thereabouts;" so far was he from fearing any hurt from them. And the very last day of his life he spent in keeping company with the commander of that party, Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, playing at cards with him till six or seven at night, and at their parting mutual protestations of kindness were renewed. Some time that very day, but whether before or after parting, I know not, Captain Campbell had these orders sent him from Major Duncanson, a copy whereof I here send you.

"*Ballacholis, February* 12, 1692.

SIR,

You are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels, the M'Donalds of Glenco, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have especial care, that the old fox, and his sons, do upon no account escape your hands: you are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five o'clock in the morning, precisely; and by that time, or very shortly after it, I will strive to be at you with a stronger party; if I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the King's *special command*, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants may be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution, without feud or favour, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the king or government, nor a man fit to carry a commission in the king's service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe these with my hand,

ROBERT DUNCANSON.

For their Majesties service, to Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon."

Duncanson had received orders from Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, which were as follows.

"*Ballacholis, February* 12, 1692.

SIR,

Per second to the commander in chief, and my colonel's orders to me, for putting in execution the service commanded against the Rebels in Glenco, wherein you, with the party of the Earl of Argyll's regiment under your command are to be concerned: you are therefore forthwith to order your affairs so, as that the several posts already assigned by you, be by you and your several detachments fallen in action with, precisely by five o'clock to-morrow morning, being Saturday; at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this regiment for the other places. It will be most necessary you secure those avenues on the south side, that the old fox, nor none of his cubs get away. The orders are that none be spared from seventy, of the sword, nor the government troubled with prisoners. This is all until I see you. From

Your humble Servant,
JAMES HAMILTON.

Please to order a guard to secure the ferry, and the boats there; and the boats must be all on this side the ferry, after your men are over.

For their Majesties service, for Major Robert Duncanson of the Earl of Argyll's regiment."

The soldiers being disposed five or three in a house, according to the number of the family, they were to assassinate, had their orders given them secretly. They had been all received as friends by those poor people, who intending no evil themselves, little suspected that their guests were designed to be their murderers. At five o'clock in the morning they began their bloody work, surprised and butchered thirty-eight persons, who had kindly received them under their roofs. Macjan himself was murdered, and is much bemoaned; he was a stately well favoured man, and of good courage and sense: as also the Laird Archintrikin, a gentleman of more than ordinary judgment and understanding, who had submitted to the government, and had Colonel Hill's protection in his pocket, which he had got three months before. I cannot without horror represent, how that a boy about eight years of age was murdered; he seeing what was done to others in the house with him, in a terrible fright ran out of the house, and espying Captain Campbell, grasped him about the legs, crying for mercy, and offering to be his servant all his life. I am informed Captain Campbell inclined to spare him; but one Drummond, an officer, barbarously ran his dagger through him, whereof he died immediately. The rehearsal of several particulars and circumstances of this tragical story, makes it appear most doleful; as that Macjan was killed, as he was drawing on his breeches, standing before his bed, and giving orders to his servants for the good entertainment of those who murdered him; while he was speaking the words, he was shot through the head, and fell dead in his lady's arms; who through the grief of this and other bad usages she met with, died the next day. It is not to be omitted, that most of these poor people were killed when they were asleep, and none were allowed to pray to God for mercy. Providence ordered it so, that that night was most boisterous; so as a party of four hundred men, who should have come to the other end of the Glen, and begun the like work there at the same hour, (intending that the poor inhabitants should be inclosed, and none of them escape,) could not march that length until it was nine o'clock, and this afforded to many an opportunity of escaping, and none were killed but those in whose houses Campbell and Glenlyon's men were quartered, otherwise all the male under seventy years of age, to the number of two hundred, had been cut off, for that was the order; and it might have been easily executed, especially considering the inhabitants had no arms at that time; for upon the first hearing that the soldiers were coming to the Glen, they had conveyed them all out of the way: for though they relied on the promises which were made them for their safety, yet they thought it not improbable that they might be disarmed. I know not whether to impute it to difficulty in distinguishing the difference of a few years, or to the fury of the soldiers, who being once glutted with blood, stand at nothing, that even some above seventy years of age were destroyed. They set all the houses on fire, drove off all the cattle to the garrison of Inverlochy, viz. nine hundred cows, two hundred horses, and a great many sheep and goats, and there they were divided amongst the officers. And how dismal may you imagine the case of the poor women and children was then! It was lamentable, past expression; their husbands and fathers, and near relations were forced to flee for their lives; they themselves almost stript, and nothing left them, and their houses being burnt, and not one house nearer than six miles; and to get thither they were to pass over mountains and wreaths of snow, in a vehement storm, wherein the greatest part of them perished through hunger and cold. It fills me with horror to think of poor stript children and women, some with child, and some giving suck, wrestling against a storm, in mountains and heaps of snow, and at length to be overcome, and give over, and fall down, and die miserably.

You see in Hamilton's order to Duncanson, there is a special caution, that the old fox, nor none of his cubs should escape; and in Duncanson's order to Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, that the old fox, nor none of his sons escape; but notwithstanding of all this wicked caution, it pleased God, that the two young gentlemen, Macjan's sons, escaped: for it happened, that the younger of these gentlemen trusted little to the fair promises of Campbell, and had a more watchful eye over him than his father or brother, who suffered themselves, by his reiterated oaths to be deluded into a belief of his integrity; he having a strong impression on his spirit, that some mischievous design was hidden under Campbell's specious pretences, it made him after the rest were in bed, remain in a retired corner, where he had an advantageous prospect into their guard. About midnight perceiving several soldiers to enter it, this increased his jealousy; so he went and communicated his fears to his brother, who could not for a long time be persuaded there was any bad design against them, and asserted, that what he had seen, was not a doubling their guards, in order to any ill design, but that being in a strange place, and at a distance from the garrison, they were to send out sentinels far from the guard, and because of the extremity of the weather relieved them often, and that the men he saw could be no more than these. Yet he persisting to say, that they were not so secure, but that it was fit to acquaint their father with what he had seen; he prevailed with his brother to rise, and go with him to his father, who lay in a room contiguous to that they were in; though what the younger son alledged, made no great impression on his father, yet he allowed his sons to try what they could discover. They well knowing all skulking places there, went and hid themselves near to a sentinel's post, where instead of one, they discovered eight or ten men; This made them more inquisitive, so they crept as near as they could without being discovered, so near, that they could hear one say to his fellows, that he liked not this work, and that had he known of it, he would have been very unwilling to have come there; but that none except their commanders knew of it till within a quarter of an hour. The soldier added, that he was willing to fight against the men of the Glen, but it was base to murder them. But, to all this was answered, all the blame be on such as gave the orders; we are free, being bound to obey our officers. Upon hearing of these words, the young gentlemen retired as quickly and as quietly as they could, towards the house, to inform their father of what they had heard; but as they came nigh to it, they perceived it surrounded, and heard guns discharged, and the people shrieking; whereupon, being unarmed, and totally unable to rescue their father, they preserved their own lives, in hopes yet to serve their King and country, and see justice done upon those hell-hounds, treacherous murderers, the shame of their country, and disgrace of mankind.

I must not forget to tell you, that there were two of these officers who had given their parole of honour to Macjan, who refused to be concerned in that brutal tragedy, for which they were sent prisoners to Glasgow, where if they remain not still, I am sure they were some weeks ago.

Thus, Sir, in obedience to your commands, I have sent you such account as I could get of that monstrous and most inhuman massacre of the Laird of Glenco, and others of his Clan. You desire some proofs of the truth of this story; for you say there are many in England, who cannot believe such a thing could be done, and public justice not executed upon the ruffians: for they take it for granted, that no such order could be given by the government; and you say, they will never believe it without a downright demonstration. Sir, as to the government, I will not meddle with it; or whether these officers who murdered Glenco, had such orders, as they pretended, from the government; the government knows that best, and how to vindicate their own honour, and punish the murderers, who pretended their authority, and still stand upon it. But as to the matter of fact, of the murder of Glenco, you may depend upon it, as certain and undeniable. It would be thought as strange a thing in Scotland, for any man to doubt of it, as of the death of my Lord Dundee; or with you, that the Duke of Monmouth lost his head. But to put you out of all doubt, you will have ere long have my Lord Argyll's regiment with you in London, and there you may speak with Glenlyon himself, with Drummond, and the rest of the actors in that dismal tragedy: and on my life, there is never a one of them will deny it to you; for they know it is notoriously known all over Scotland, and it is an admiration to us, that there should be any one in England, who makes the least doubt of it. Nay, Glenlyon is so far from denying it, that he brags of it, and justifies the action publicly: he said in the royal coffee-house in Edinburgh, "that he would do it again; nay, that he would stab any man in Scotland or in England, without asking the cause, if the King gave him orders, and that it was every good subject's duty so to do." And I am credibly informed, that Glenlyon, and the rest of them, have addressed themselves to the council for a reward for their good service, in destroying Glenco, pursuant to their orders.

There is enough of this mournful subject; if what I have said satisfy you not, you may have what farther proof, and in what manner you please to ask it.

SIR,

Your humble servant, &c.

N. B. That the gentleman to whom this letter was sent, did on Thursday, June 30, 1692, when the Lord Argyll's regiment was quartered at Brentford, go thither, and had this story of the massacre of Glenco, from the very men who were the actors in it: Glenlyon and Drummond were both there. The Highlander who told him the story, expressing guilt, which was visible in Glenlyon, said, Glenco hangs about Glenlyon night and day, and you may see him in his face. I am told likewise, that Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, refused to accept the place of Lord Advocate of Scotland, unless he might have liberty to prosecute Glenlyon, and the rest of the murderers of Glenco, which not being granted, James Stewart (who was forfeited for treason by King Charles II., and since knighted by K. W.) has now the place.

Gallienus Redivivus;

OR,

MURDER WILL OUT, &c.

THE foregoing account of the barbarous massacre of Glenco was printed in the year 1692, in the answer to Doctor King's book of the "State of the Protestants in Ireland:" and all the reception it met with among many here in England, was, that it was a Jacobite story, on purpose to reflect upon the government, and that there was no such thing: but this is now confuted by the proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland this summer Session, 1695, wherein they have voted the killing of the Glenco men to be a murder, and yet have acquitted Sir Thomas Livingston and Colonel Hill, who gave the orders for killing of them. Why? Because their orders were but pursuant to the instructions they had from Court. Where will this lodge the murder? The design, it is well enough known, is to put it upon S— J—— D———le, commonly called M——r of S——r, one of the Secretaries for Scotland, because he is not so fiery a Presbyterian as the other Secretary Sir James Johnston, who hath it by inheritance to love crown and mitre alike, and to have a just reward for it. But D———le is only a libertine or latitudinarian, one of the modern *no-religion*, who are indifferent to *all*, so they be troubled with *none*. Therefore, he cares not whether Episcopacy or Presbytery, or what else is set up, provided the people be easy with it.

Now, it being known to all the world, that the pretence of the *inclinations* of the people of Scotland, which was made the groundwork for abolishing Episcopacy, and setting up Presbytery there, was a mere sham, contrived by this Johnston and the bigot Presbyterian party in Scotland; who were all put in power in the beginning of this Revolution; and set on the barbarous rabbling of the Episcopal clergy in the West of Scotland, that they might cry out, The inclinations of the people were against Episcopacy. And having by these and other arts (which are fully related in print) packed and then surprised the first Convention, or meeting of Estates, to abolish Episcopacy: They dare not have a new Parliament, * as in England, but keep on the same Convention (only changing the name into that of a Parliament) to this day; because no free Parliament can be had in Scotland, which would not the first day spew out Presbytery, and re-establish their much more beloved Episcopacy. And the people showing great uneasiness under their present establishment (which had been tricked and forced upon them.) All the craft and violence of the regnant Presbytery, assisted by Acts of Parliament, and all the countenance of the government, having not yet been able to outcast the Episcopal clergy in the North and other parts of Scotland; or prevail with the people to admit of, or almost give civil treatment to the Presbyterian ministers sent to them, though established by law. The Presbyterian interest standing there upon so slender a bottom, their junto think it not safe to have a man of Dalrymple's latitude in religion in so eminent a post, and near their king; lest he should follow the inclinations of the people, in good earnest, and call a new Parliament there, which would ruin all their measures: therefore, ways and means must be used to remove him, and leave Johnston and the Presbyterian faction in the sole possession of the Court. At length this of Glenco was pitched upon, which was so odious they knew their king durst not own it: therefore they would throw it upon Dalrymple, who was Secretary, and attended when the instructions were sent for that bloody murder: and thereby too, they would seem to take off the odium from their king. This was their pretence, and they had proof enough against Dalrymple: but how that cleared his master will be seen.

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* See Querela Temporum, p. 8 and 9.

They produced nine letters of Dalrymple's (of which I have copies) concerning the massacre of Glenco: and I shall have occasion to mention them hereafter. I will now set down their several dates and directions, and quote them, to save repetition, only by their number, letter 1, 2, 3, &c. The two first are directed to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, and bear date the 1st, and the other the 3d December, 1691: the four next are to Sir Thomas Livingston, of these several dates, 7, 9, 11 and 16th of January, 1692: then follow two more to Colonel Hill, of the 16th and 30th of the same month; and lastly, on the 30th ditto, to Sir Thomas Livingston. It seems very strange that K. W. would suffer these letters to be exposed to the Parliament in Scotland, being most of them wrote by his order, enlarging upon, and enforcing the execution of instructions sent with them for the massacre of Glenco. And the regard which his dear Presbyterians and his favourite Johnston, in particular, had to his honour, was very slender, when, to compass their ends, they load him so foully, that they might load Dalrymple too. Johnston says No,—but that he *foreseeing* (because some say of his own *contriving*) that the Parliament, who are most of them his creatures, (to their honour be it spoken,) would fall upon the business of Glenco; and that they must be, at least, seemingly gratified in it, otherwise that it might obstruct the Money-bills; did therefore advise his master to send down a commission to men of his own choosing, to inquire into the affair of Glenco; but withal to give secret instructions to his commissioner, to keep up the said commission, unless the Parliament should enter upon that business: and if they did, then to produce the said commission, to show his Majesty's innocence, by his care to have it examined; and withal, it would take the examination of it out of the hands of the Parliament committees, who might not manage so dexterously as those of his own naming.

Things being thus stated, and the necessary orders given, it is vilely suspected that Johnston procured the matter to be started in Parliament, whereby at once to get rid of his rival Secretary, and root up the interest of any who had but an indifference towards Episcopacy at court; though to the utter shipwreck of his master's honour, to be recorded for all posterity—(as if it were inseparable from some constitutions to betray those they serve, even though they wish them well, and must stand and fall with them). For, considering the influence Johnston had in that Parliament, and that they never yet opposed his will in any thing; and that he has been able to suppress the least murmur or hint that looked towards Glenco, when the fact was new committed, and the horror of it fresh and bleeding; and now for three years after: I say, it is not supposed by men who understand that Parliament, that it could have been brought upon the stage, when it was almost dead and forgotten, if the hand of *Joab* had not been in it; but let him look to that. I have only to add, as a completion of the foregoing narrative, that I can, from unquestionable vouchers, give the reader an account of the orders from Court to Sir Thomas Livingston and Colonel Hill, which are not in the letter that goes before; and when the reader is told that Hamilton (whose order to Duncanson is inserted) had his order from Livingston and Hill, then he has the whole thread, viz. W. R.'s order to Livingston and Hill; Livingston and Hill to Hamilton; Hamilton to Duncanson; and Duncanson to Glenlyon, who was the butcher.

You find in the Gazettes two sets of instructions, one of the 11th, the other of the 16th January, 1691-2; and I will give you an account of them both. Those of the 11th did expressly order *fire* and *sword*, [these were the words,] against all the Highland Clans who had not taken the oaths. After they were sent away, my Lord Carmarthen, now Leeds, being told of it by Dalrymple, (as I am informed,) did represent it to K. W. as a thing so unknown in these countries, which are governed by laws, that fire and sword would sound very harshly; no such words having ever been heard from any of our native kings. This procured the mitigation of that order, by the instructions of the 16th, which poured all the thunder upon Glenco; because some sacrifice must be made! What concerned Glenco was in the 14th of these instructions, and is as follows:

"WILLIAM R.

As for MACJAN of GLENCO, and that *tribe*, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of publick justice, to *extirpate* that sett of thieves.

W. R."

This was directed to Sir Thomas Livingston and Colonel Hill. And the Parliament has voted that Livingston or Hill's orders did not exceed these instructions, nor indeed could they: for what can exceed *extirpation?* and that to be executed at the discretion of soldiers! As it is worded in the Secretary's letter to Sir Thomas Livingston. * "I am confident (says he) you will see there are full powers given you in very plain terms, and yet the method left very much to your own discretion."

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* Letter 5.

Take notice, that the instructions are countersigned W. R. at bottom as well as top, which is not usual; for it is the Secretary's office to countersign the king's orders; and the reason is, that if any thing be amiss, the Secretary must be answerable. Therefore, Dalrymple had reason to wave that ceremony in this instance, and let his master take all the glory to himself: and lest this should not be taken notice of, and that he might have a voucher when time comes, he took care to inform Sir Thomas Livingston punctually of it, in the same letter which inclosed the first most bloody instructions, of the 11th January, 1691–2, for an universal massacre of all who had not taken the oaths. And begins in these words: * "Sir, I send you the king's instructions, super and subscribed by himself." And to show how pleasing a thing mercy was to them, and with what reluctancy they prosecuted those who had not taken the oaths, he says in the same letter: "Just now Argyle tells me, that Glenco hath not taken the oaths, at which I rejoice. 'Tis a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect." And to show how great this charity was, and whence it proceeded, the wise Secretary blurrs out these words: "I have no great kindness for Keppoch nor Glenco, and 'tis well these people are in mercy." Well

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* Letter 5.

indeed! they were in merciful hands! Who can say they ought not to die, for whom such a Secretary hath no *great kindness!* But who are they must die? *All! All!* man, woman and child! Massacre the men, and drive the women and children to perish more cruelly in the mountains. To which purpose, that extreme cold season was chosen for the execution. * "The winter is the only season (says the Secretary) in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us, nor carry their wives, bairns, and cattle to the mountains.—— † It's the only time that they cannot escape you, for human constitution cannot endure to be long out of houses. This is the proper season to maul them in the cold long nights." This was expressed with the gusto of a vulture, in expectation of a glorious massacre! and then how easy it would be! ‡ "I expect (says he) you will find little resistance but from the season." And then what through work they would make! § "To destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Locheils, Lauds, Keppochs, Glengaries, Appin and Glenco." Here was a plentiful feast provided! It was a ravishing prospect!

But O how these *lyons* were enraged when any of their desired prey was delivered out of their jaws. It was in a mournful strain the Secretary tells the sad news: ‖ "We have an account (says he) that Lockhart and Macnaghton, Appin and Glenco, took the benefit of the indemnity at Inveraray; and Keppoch and others at Inverness." But after this, when Argyle told him that Glenco had not taken the oaths, how did he rejoice! as above quoted. * "I am glad (says he) that Glenco did not come within the time prescribed.——† I am content that *clan* excepts itself.——‡ For my part, I could have wished the Macdonalds had not divided [that is, that they had all excluded themselves from mercy]; and I am sorry that Keppoch and Macjan of Glenco are safe." But it seems they were not safe: some must be made a sacrifice, and Glenco was pitched upon for the victim. And the implacable fury which was shown against that Clan, expressed the rage they felt that so many had escaped them. And therefore that Clan was to be destroyed entirely. § "I assure you (says the Secretary to his officers) your power shall be full enough, and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners.——‖ For a just example of vengeance, I intreat that the thieving tribe in Glenco may be rooted out in earnest. I shall intreat you, that for a just vengeance and public example, the thieving tribe of Glenco may be routed out to purpose. The Earl of Argyle has promised they shall have no retreat in his bounds; the passes to Rannach would be secured, and the hazard certified to the Laird of ——— to retreat: then, in that case, Argyle's detachment, with a party that may be posted in Island Stalker, must be cut off.——¶ Pray, when any thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the men will shift you; and better not meddle with them, than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers who are fallen under the mercy of the law.——* I am glad Glenco did not come within the time prescribed. I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together to help. I think to herry their cattle, or burn their houses, is but to render them desperate lawless men, to rob their neighbours: but, I believe you will be satisfied, it were great advantage to the nation that that thieving tribe were rooted out and cut off. It must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both the men and their cattle. Argyle's detachment lies in Keppoch well, to assist the garrison to do all *on a sudden.*" Was ever so greedy a hunt after the lives of a company of secure and unarmed people, who slept fearless, and suspecting no danger, under the protection of those who were thus contriving to massacre them, in the most savage and treacherous manner.

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* Letter 1. † Letter 2. ‡ Letter 4. § Letter 3. ‖ Letter 4.

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* Let. 9. † Let. 1. ‡ Let. 4. § Let. 3 & 6. ‖ Let. 7. ¶ Let. 8.

The Secretary tells Colonel Hill, that † "the oaths are indispensable." This was a fearful method of imposing the oaths upon these Highlanders, that none must live who would not take them! But were all admitted to take them? One would think so, when they were made indispensable. Yet notwithstanding, in that same letter, he gave these directions to Colonel Hill. "Till we see what is done by the *Chiefs*, it is not time to receive their tenants, or admitting them to take the oaths, or hoping for pardon, till they give evidence that they are willing to pay their rents to you, and to take tax for their former duties; who will not do so, and were in the rebellion, must feel the dismal consequences of it."

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* Letter 9. † Letter 8.

Thus Naboth's vineyard made him a blasphemer! If the tenants would betray the rights of their landlords, to atone and pay the rents to the Secretary or his governor, then, and not otherwise, they should be admitted to take the oaths: And yet they must not live, if they did not take the oaths: But Glenco took the oaths, yet that saved not his life nor his clan.

It were reasonable here to presume that K. W. did not know that they had taken the oaths. First, if it had been so, this manner of massacre in cold blood had been a cruelty without a precedent. Secondly, it was taking advantage of the time with the greatest rigour; for the time limited by the indemnity expired but the 1st of January, 1691–2, and the instructions for a general massacre were dated the 11th of the same month at London, which was hardly time enough to know whether they had taken the oaths or not. But thirdly, here is no room left to surmise that K. W. did not know it; because Secretary Dalrymple, in his letter to Sir Thomas Livingston, before quoted, which is dated at London the 9th of January, 1691–2, tells him, * "That they had an account that Glenco had taken the oaths at Inveraray;" which was the place where

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* Letter 4.

he did take them, as is told in the foregoing narrative. And he tells Sir Thomas, in the same letter, "I have been with the king, he says your instructions shall be despatched on Monday." And they were so; for that Monday was the 11th of January, 1691–2, which was the Saturday before. And then tells Sir Thomas—"That he had the account of Glenco's having taken the oaths, with several others; and that he had been with the king concerning it, and instructions should be sent," &c. 'Tis true, his letter of the 11th, which went with the instructions, says, * "That Argyle told him Glenco had not taken the oaths." But this was no more than hearsay, and it was not true: for Glenco had taken the oaths before that time, according to the account which the Secretary owned was sent to him; and Argyle was an enemy to Glenco, as appears by what is above quoted out of the Letter 7. But this saying of Argyle to the Secretary in London, could not be of Argyle's own knowledge: and one would think that the Secretary of State should have as good intelligence as he.

But, to make the most of it, this could amount to no more than a doubt; and to suspend his further resolution, till he might have the certainty from Scotland; but they did not stay for this, for the particular instructions to massacre Glenco bore date the 16th of January, 1691–2. Betwixt which time and the 11th, when Argyle told the Secretary as above, they could not send to Scotland and have an

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* Letter 5.

answer back. Now these instructions of the 16th were no way conditional, to cut off Glenco if he had not taken the oaths; but positive, and without more ado. When it is certain that K. W. must at least doubt, whether he had taken the oaths or not; but it is apparent, that Colonel Hill, who had given Glenco his protection, and to whom Glenco came to take the oaths, I say it is certain that he and the other officers there upon the place, knew very well that Glenco had taken the oaths and submitted to the government. Those officers whom he received into his house, and quartered their soldiers among his tenants, upon his laying down his arms,—these must know that he had submitted. But if, notwithstanding, they must obey their orders (as they did); if it be not permitted to officers so much as to *rescribere*, to acquaint the king with any mistake that may be in his orders, but to execute them blindfold, and without asking questions, then let me lie out of the reach of a soldier.

The reader must likewise know, that none of these foresaid instructions were communicated to the Privy-Council of Scotland; to whom by the constitution of that kingdom, and continual custom, all the king's orders are directed. They knew nothing of this matter: it was contrived to be carried in such a manner as not to be prevented: and when Gallienus his thirst of blood is once satisfied, then let slaves grumble and make inquiry! We know how to manage them. Johnston hath undertaken it; nay he hath done it. Done it! more effectually than ever was heard, or I believe imagined, in these nations, before this happy revolution: for here is a precedent made, and that by P——t, that the king may send his guards, and cut any man's throat in the nation in cold blood; nay, he may massacre the whole P——t as they are there sitting, by the rule that they have given; that is, to acquit Livingston and Hill, and to justify them for pursuing the king's order to massacre a whole clan, which is no more just or law, than to massacre a P——t.

Let us banter the world, or ourselves, no more with liberty and laws, when P——ts can be brought to approve and justify all this! Well, Johnston, thou hast managed nobly! Thou art fit to serve a monarch! But not unless you bring your monarch cleverly off in this business; for what if you can place it upon Dalrymple; and if Dalrymple should be hanged for daring to send such an order, though he refused to contersign it, what will become of him who both signed it and countersigned it, and commanded it to be sent?

If the man such praises have,
What must he employs the K——?

Why! did his master never inquire into the matter before? Never before the Parliament clamoured! And what was the meaning of a commission to examine into what himself had ordered. But *Mes James!* And have you even brought your master into this noose! What can you expect from him, but to be Glenco'd for your pains? *Qui Glencoat, Glencoabitur.* You have brought all his sins to remembrance. The De-witting in Holland was almost forgot. You have pretty good experience of his temper, or you may have. But if he suffer you to live to see another Revolution, you may plead merit: for all his enemies have not rendered him so black, so effectually proved, and demonstrated it to the world, as your management has done. He is happy in his ministers! At least very justly served by them!

He wants but a good historian, that he may not lose his character to after ages: and Secretary, you cannot do better than to recommend your uncle to that office: he will do it deliciously; he will either find or make parallels to him out of Ancient Histories, (for he will find none among the Modern, especially in these countries,) and make him, I'll warrant you, excel them all. And among the rest, I would recommend one to him that fits the present case so exactly, that you would think one was copied from the other, and it is as follows:

"Gallienus, ut erat nequam et perditus; ita etiam, ubi necessitas, coegisset, velox, furibundus, ferus, vehemens, crudelis. In omnes Mesiacos tam milites quam cives asperrime sæviit nec quemquam suæ crudelitatis exortem reliquit: usque adeo Asper et Truculentus ut plerasque civitates vacuas a virili sexu reliquerit.

"Extat sane epistola Gallieni quam ad celerem Verianum scripsit, qua ejus nimietas crudelitatis ostenditur: quam ego idcirco interposui, ut omnes intelligerent, hominem luxuriosum crudelissimum esse si necessitas postulet.

"GALLIENUS VERIANO. Non mihi satisfacies, si tantum Armatos trucideris, quos et sors belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus est omnis sexus virilis, si et senes atque impuberes sine reprehensione nostra occidi possent. Occidendus est quicunque maledixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot principum patrem et fratrem, ingenuus factus est imperator. Lacera, occide, concide: animum meum intelligere potes, mea mente irascere qui hæc manu mea scripsi." *Trebel. Pollion. Trigint. Tyran. de Ingenuo.*

This is the description of Gallienus, a cruel and a bloody tyrant: and here is the copy of some instructions he sent to Verianus, an officer of his, about just such another massacre as Glenco, which he wrote or signed with his own hand; wherein he commands him to put all to the sword, all that durst speak or think against him, as well old as young; he bid him plunder, kill, tear; and that it would not please him if he killed only those in arms against him, but all of the masculine sex.

Here was a great deal of do, and many words about it! But our milder order bid not only *extirpate*, and that not this or that body, or making distinctions of old or young, men or women—(what need all that cookery!)—but only the whole tribe. That was all! He scorned to except the pitiful women, as Gallienus did. What need they be excepted? Why! He excepted no body! Short work's best, and few words: and as the answer to "Great Britain's Just Complaint," published by authority, 1692, says, p. 37, in vindication of W. R. as to this of Glenco, "A milder order was never given:" and he says, "That his Majesty has expressed a high displeasure at it." It was *high* indeed, for we never heard of it before; nor are we like to hear of it, that I can see: for all the officers who commanded, are still in their respective posts, unless advanced: nor have we heard that so much as an ill word has been said by him to any one of them.

But this we know, by that answer to Great Britain's Just Complaint, that W. R. cannot plead ignorance that there was a great clamour about the massacre of Glenco, three years ago; and that he has taken no notice of it all this time, nor now, till it was first started in Parliament; and that then, what he did, was, as much as he could, to take it out of the hands of the Parliament, and by all his might and main to stifle, or at least to baffle it. And that it has been baffled. And this horrible addition is thereby made to the guilt of that murder; that whereas none were answerable for it before, except only Gallienus and his Verianuses, with their accomplices, it is now become a national guilt (so far as the Parliament are the representatives of the people) by the Parliament making Gallienus's instructions sufficient to justify Verianus in his execution of them: whereby they justify the whole murder, and bring it upon their own heads, and upon the heads of their children. For if Gallienus had no power by law to send such instructions, they could be no justification to Verianus: but now, that Parliament has voted that such instructions are a justification of Verianus; and, therefore, they have yielded that Gallienus has by law a power to send such instructions, and that they ought to be obeyed. And then, Lord have mercy upon us!

But to bring our story to an end: there is one noble stroke of Secretary Johnston's behind, whereby he thinks he has wiped his master clean from all imputation of the massacre of Glenco; and that is, he has persuaded Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton (whose order to Duncanson is in the foresaid Narrative) to abscond for some time, and then to slip over to K. W. in Flanders; which he has done. This shows as if he were more guilty than the rest. He is made the scape-goat, and all this sin laid upon his head. But if Hill gave his orders to his Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, (which he avers in his order to Duncanson,) why was it more criminal in Hamilton to hand down his Colonel's orders to the next subaltern?

And why must Glenlyon, and the others who actually committed that horrid massacre, and are now in their respective commands in Flanders, why should these be excused?

O no! they are not excused, for as in the Gazette, 18th July, 1695, the Parliament in Scotland has made a fierce vote against them, viz. "That his Majesty be addressed to send them home to be prosecuted for the same, or not; as his Majesty shall think fit." Or not! This is as civil as heart could wish! And whether this address was sent, *or not;* whether it was trusted to Secretary Johnston, to send it, *or not,* is all one; for, instead of sending them home to be tried, Hamilton is sent to them: and, in justice, we are to suppose that due care will be taken, that in this campaign they shall either be killed, taken, or desert. And then, if we had them again, How we would hang the rogues.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

DUNDEE'S OFFICERS

AFTER

THEY WENT TO FRANCE.

ALL hopes of serving King James in the Highlands of Scotland being lost, his officers, in obedience to his commands, capitulated with the government at Edinburgh to be sent to France, which accordingly was performed; and on their landing, they were sent to Lisle, Burburgh, Arras, and other towns in the French Flanders, where they were subsisted according to the different commissions and characters they bore in Scotland; and notwithstanding the king of France's misfortunes at La Hogue and Chirburgh, where his fleet was burnt, he still generously continued them on the same footing as before, until September 1692. The officers considering, that by the loss of the French fleet, King James's restoration would be retarded for some time, and that they were burdensome to the King of France, being entertained in garrisons on whole pay, without doing duty, when he had almost all

Europe in confederacy against him; therefore humbly entreated King James to have them reduced into a company of private sentinels, and choose officers amongst themselves to command them; assuring his Majesty, that they would serve in the meanest circumstances, and undergo the greatest hardships and fatigues that reason could imagine, or misfortunes inflict, until it pleased God to restore him. King James commended their generosity and loyalty, but disapproved of what they proposed, and told them, it was impossible that gentlemen, who had served in so honourable posts as formerly they enjoyed, and lived in so great plenty and ease, could ever undergo the fatigue and hardships of private sentinels' duty. Again, that his own first command was a company of officers, whereof several died, others, wearied with the fatigue, drew their discharges, till at last it dwindled into nothing, and he got no reputation by the command; therefore he desired them to insist no more on that project. The officers (nothwithstanding his Majesty's desire to the contrary) made several interests at court, and harrassed him so much, that at last he condescended, and appointed Col. Thomas Brown, Captain, Col. Alexander Gordon, and Col. Andrew Scot, Lieutenants, and Major James Buchan, Ensign, to the company of officers. I am heartily sorry those gentlemen have given me no opportunity of speaking well of them. It was their ill conduct, particularly Brown's avarice, that ruined the company; for they got a command which they never expected, and knew as little how to use as they deserved it. The noble Earl of

Dunfermline, a gentleman whose loyalty, like his honour, admitted no rival, was proposed by the officers to command; but King James, being unwilling to want so good counsel, and the court of St. Germains never being without parasites, made his Lordship decline the post, to the great detriment of the gentlemen, and King James's interest. Now a rout is ordered by the court of Versailles, and brought to St. Germains, and about seventy of the officers, under the command of Colonel Brown, Colonel Gordon, and Major Buchan, being reviewed in the garden, he made a speech to them after this manner.

KING JAMES'S SPEECH

To the Scots Officers,

IN THE GARDEN OF ST. GERMAINS.

"GENTLEMEN,

"My own misfortunes are not so nigh my heart as yours; it grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the prospect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the stations of private sentinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and that of a few of my subjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the Prince of Orange, and who, I know, will be ready on all occasions to serve me and my distressed family, could make me willing to live. The sense of what all of you have done and undergone for your loyalty hath made so deep an impression on my heart, that if ever it please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetful of your services and sufferings. Neither can there be any posts in the armies of my dominions, but what you have just pretensions to. As for my son, your Prince, he is of your own blood, a child capable of any impression, and as his education will be from you, it is not supposable that he can forget your merits.

"At your own desires you are now going a long march, far distant from me; I have taken care to provide you with money, shoes, stockings, and other necessaries. Fear God, and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon it always to find me your Parent and King."

Having thus ended his most gracious Speech, his Majesty asked every particular officer his name, and writ it down in his pocket-book; then made them a bow, with his hat in his hand, prayed God to bless and prosper them, and so left them.

About a month after, Colonel Brown went from St. Germains, and Colonel Scot, with about 50 officers under his command, who had received the like compliment from King James in the Garden of St. Germains, marched after him. The distance from St. Germains to Perpignan in Rousillon, where the rout ended, is about nine hundred miles.

The civil deportment and generous tempers of the officers, as well as their characters and misfortunes, engaged all the consuls, leading men, and others, in the towns and villages they passed through, to love, respect, and billet them on the richest people in the place; and every morning before they marched, usually the young ladies in the town were walking on the parade to see them; for they always gained the favours of their landladies and their daughters.

There was nothing remarkable in the routs to Catalonia, but that two leagues from Montpelier, near the river Rhone, four of Col. Scot's officers, wading a rivulet, which had been swelled by rains from the mountains, were violently carried down; but catching hold of some bushes, they kept their heads above water; and though there were hundreds of the country people on both sides of the rivulet looking on, they never offered their assistance, only waiting when they should be drowned, to get their clothes and money; such is the barbarity of these mixed Catalonian French. At last some of their comrades came with ropes, and helped them out.

At Revosaltes, within two leagues of Perpignan, one of the officers was quartered on a farmer. He desired his supper, and to see his bed, as is usual for soldiers in France. His landlord, landlady, and servants, fell upon him, beat him unmercifully, and threatened to murder him if he made any noise. The next day, when they came to Perpignan, Colonel Scot made a complaint to Shaseron, Lieutenant-General and Governor of Rousillon, who immediately sent his aid-de-camp to the gentleman affronted, to beg his pardon in the King of France's name, for the barbarous usage he met with, and assured him he should have all imaginable satisfaction. Two days afterwards, all the furniture in the farmer's house was carried to the market-place and burnt, and himself burnt in the hand and banished France; which shows what respect the King and Court of France bear to the officers of the army.

When Colonel Scot, with his officers, came to Perpignan, they drew up in a rank before Lieutenant-General Shaseron's house, where all the ladies of quality in town assembled, and wept bitterly, to see so many worthy gentlemen, for their loyalty and honour, reduced to the unhappy station of private sentinels; and it was boldly asserted by several citizens, that the gentlewomen made a purse of two hundred pistoles for the officers, who never heard any thing of the matter. Colonel Scot marched from Perpignan to Canet, on the Mediterranean, and joined Colonel Brown, who lay there with his officers. Then the company was formed, and the officers received their arms and clothes, and were most industrious in practising the exercise of that country; which, with their modest behaviour, and patience under their sufferings, recommended them so much to the officers of the French army, that they showed them more respect than actually belonged to their former commissions; and were often pleased to declare, That a detachment from all the officers in France could not parallel that company. About this time the gentlemen had spent all their money; and threepence a day, with one pound and a half of bread, which is French pay, was too little to support men of their quality, who formerly had lived in so great plenty and affluence. Therefore they were forced, in regard to the honour of their country, and the commissions they formerly bore, and for the necessaries and supplies their present ill circumstances required, to sell at Perpignan their scarlet clothes, laced and embroidered waistcoats, Holland shirts, watches, and rings: so that, in a very few weeks, no officer in the French army, nor burgess in the city, of any distinction, was in esteem if he wanted an English watch in his fob, or a suit of scarlet clothes. The ladies bought their rings; and when their money fell short, the officers were so generous as to exchange them for hair ones. This market continued from November, 1692, to the first of May, 1693, when they went to camp. All that time, no gentlemen on earth lived more agreeably and delightfully than they. The wine was good and cheap, and their merchandise procured them money and mistresses. About the middle of March Major Rutherford's company, and Captain John Foster's veteran troops of Dumbarton's regiment, joined the company of officers at Canet, where nothing but loyal healths and honourable schemes were drunk and projected for the King's restoration, and preparations made for the ensuing campaign.

The three companies, before they marched to camp, were ordered to be reviewed before Mareschal de Noailles and his court at Perpignan, in their soldier's clothes; and that morning before they marched from Canet, it was both wanton and melancholy to see the company of officers; so many loyal and worthy gentleman! their half picks turned into firelocks, and their gorgets and sashes into cartouch-boxes and haversacks; as for knapsacks they wanted none; for the linen market of Perpignan had eased them of that trouble. When the three companies were reviewed by Mareschal de Noailles and his court, his Excellency desired the company of officers to march a second time by him, and was so well pleased with their appearance, that he presented them with a mule to carry their tents, that cost him fifty pistoles. At this review, the miquelet officers and the burgesses of Perpignan attended the Mareschal, and made a very handsome appearance in the clothes and linen they had bought from the officers, who, modestly smiling, said one to another, "See what a parade these cuckolds make in our old clothes." That night the three companies returned to Canet, where they staid some days; whence, on the first of May, 1693, they marched to camp, and passed the Pyrenean mountains; and on the twentieth of the same month they invested Roses. The company of officers suffered very much in that march; for they were obliged to carry their bread, kettles, tent poles and pins, with the other utensils of sentinels; and camp duty was harder on them than any cohort in the army; for they always mounted double complements to all partizan volunteer and foraging parties; especially when there was any probability of engaging the enemy; as for quarter guards, picquet and advanced, they were only their diversion and hours of rest.

In the valley of Lampardo, where Roses is situated, the water is muddy and scarce, and the climate supposed by the Spaniards to be very unhealthful to the French; and when King Charles II. of Spain heard Mareschal de Noailles with his army was there, he told publicly at court he wanted no army to fight them. The company of officers lying under all the inconveniencies that an over-hot air, unagreeable with their constitutions, and bad water, could bring upon them, having also nothing to eat but sardinas, horse-beans, and garlic, and little or no money, many of them were thrown into fevers and fluxes. But before I acquaint you with their misfortunes of that nature, I beg leave to give

A LIST OF THEIR NAMES.

Lieutenant Adam Urquhart.
Lieutenant Alexander Elfingston.
Captain Alexander Gordon.
Colonel Alexander Maitland.
Captain Alexander Mackenzie.
Ensign Alexander Poplar.
Captain Alexander Ramsay.
Captain Alexander Sinclair.
Captain Alexander Trottar.
Lieutenant Alexander Urquhart, Corporal.
Ensign Alan Maclean.
Lieutenant Andrew Simpson, Corporal.
Ensign Æneas Macdonald.
Lieutenant Archibald Langlins.
Lieutenant Arthur Arneil.
Major Charles Erskin.
Lieutenant Charles Lermont.
Captain Charles Patin.
Captain Colin Campbell.
Ensign Daniel Vipers.
Lieutenant David Bane.
Captain David Carmichall.
Lieutenant David Drummond.

Captain David Arneil.
Lieutenant Donald Bane, Sergeant.
Captain Duncan Cameron.
Lieutenant Edward Davison.
Lieutenant Francis Gordon, Sergeant.
Captain George Buchan.
Lieutenant George Edwards.
Lieutenant George Heriot.
Captain George Drummond.
Lieutenant Hugh Sutherland.
Lieutenant James Gray.
Captain James Henderson.
Lieutenant James Henderson.
Captain James Innes, Corporal.
Lieutenant James O'Bryan.
Captain James Montgomery.
Captain James Clark.
Lieutenant James Oswald.
Lieutenant James Toucks.
Lieutenant John Caruthers.
Captain John Dunbar.
Captain John Hamilton.
Captain John Arnut.
Captain John Gray.
Captain and Engineer John Hepburn.
Lieutenant John Oglethorp.
Captain John Riddel.
Lieutenant John Paterson.
Captain John Sinclair.
Captain John Macintosh.
Captain John Ogilvie.
Lieutenant John Mewrice.
Captain Joseph Brody.

Captain Isaac Thrycle.
Captain Kennèt Urquhart.
Lieutenant Laurence Drummond.
Lieutenant Laurence Wallace.
Lieutenant Patrick Cunningham.
Lieutenant Patrick Dickson.
Captain Patrick Graham.
Lieutenant Patrick Graham.
Lieutenant Patrick Ogilvie.
Lieutenant Philip Hamilton.
Captain Robert Arbuthnot.
Lieutenant Robert Barclay.
Lieutenant Robert Maxwel.
Lieutenant Robert Killoch.
Colonel Robert Somervel.
Lieutenant Robert Pierce.
Lieutenant Robert Keeth.
Lieutenant Robert Barclay.
Captain Samuel Maxwell.
Captain Samuel Winram.
Lieutenant Stephen Sexon.
Lieutenant Thomas Clark.
Lieutenant Thomas Ogilvy.
Captain William Achmuty.
Captain Walter Nisbet.
Lieutenant William Collins.
Captain William Maxwel.
Lieutenant William Culbert.
Colonel William Davison.
Captain William Innes.
Lieutenant William Menzies.
Captain William Main.
Lieutenant William Lyon, Sergeant.

Lieutenant William Plummer.
Lieutenant William Shewen.
Captain William Cunningham.
Lieutenant William Boyd.
Lieutenant William Bruce.
Captain William Ramsay.
Captain William Robinson.

Though many of the gentlemen had fevers and fluxes, yet no arguments that Major-General Wachop and the Irish officers could use, were prevalent enough to persuade them to go to Perpignan hospital; but they would continue in camp, and do their duty, which was very hard; for there were no pioneers in the army, which obliged the soldiers to cut wood, and make fascines to cast up trenches, and raise all the batteries against the town.

The Spaniards are much accustomed to pickeering; who having intelligence, as it was believed in the French army, when the company of officers mounted the trenches with some detachments of the Irish, they sallied out of the town several times into a field of barley, where they were boldly attacked by an equal number of officers, who repulsed them three several times to the drawbridge, in view of their garrison and French army. A French Major-General being present, asked Colonel Scot, who commanded the trenches, why these men always attacked the enemy, and not the others? who told him; that these were of the company of Scotch officers, the others Irish. The Major-General, smiling, asked his pardon, and said, he had often heard that Scotland and Ireland were two distinct kingdoms, but never knew the difference till now. On the 27th of May, the company of officers and other Scotch companies, were joined by two companies of Irish, to make up a battalion, in order to mount the trenches, and the major part of the officers listed themselves in the company of grenadiers, under the command of the brave Major Rutherford, who, on his way to the trenches, in sight of Mareschal de Noailles and his court, marched with his company on the side of the trench, which exposed him to the fire of a bastion, where there were two culverins and several other guns planted; likewise to the fire of two curtins lined with small shot. Colonel Brown, following with the battalion, was obliged in honour to march the same way Major Rutherford had done; the danger whereof the Mareschal immediately perceiving, ordered one of his aid-de-camps to command Rutherford to march under cover of the trench, which he did; and if he had but delayed six minutes, the grenadiers and battalion had been cut in pieces. Rutherford, with his grenadiers, marched to a trench near the town, and the battalion to a trench on the rear and flank of the grenadiers, who fired so incessantly on the besieged, that they thought (the breach being practicable) they were going to make their attacks, immediately beat a chamade, and were willing to give up the town on reasonable terms; but the Mareschal's demands were so exorbitant, that the Governor could not agree to them. Then firing began on both sides to be very hot; and they in the town, seeing how the grenadiers lay, killed eight of them. The bold Captain William Ramsay was shot through both legs, and died in two days; and the brave Major Rutherford along the back, and died in three days. When the governor surrendered the town, he inquired of the Mareschal, what countrymen these grenadiers were; and asured him, it was on their account he delivered up the town, because they fired so hotly, that he believed they were resolved to attack the breach; who answered, smiling, *Ces sont mes enfans*, They are my children. Again, they are the King of Great Britain's Scotch officers, who, to shew their willingness to share of his miseries, have reduced themselves to the carrying of arms, and chosen to serve under my command. The next day, when the Mareschal rode along the front of the camp, he halted at the company of the officer's piquet, and they all surrounded him. Then, with his hat in his hand, he thanked them for their good services in the trenches, and freely acknowledged it was their conduct and courage that obliged the governor to give up the town; and assured them he would acquaint his master with the same, which he accordingly did; for when his son arrived with the news at Versailles, the king having read the letter, immediately took coach to St. Germains; and when he had shown King James the letter, he thanked him for the services his subjects had done in taking Roses in Catalonia, who with concern replied, They were the stock of his British officers, and that he was sorry he could not make better provision for them.

At this time, Mareschal de Noailles was so generous and kind to the officers, that he gave every one of them a pistole, two shirts, a night-cap, two cravats, and a pair of shoes, which Colonel Brown distributed as he thought fit; to some he gave a pistole, without any of the above specified necessaries, to others a pair of shoes, to others a shirt, and to some nothing: all this, as it was surmised by the officers, was done by Colonel Scot's advice. King James likewise gave every officer fivepence *per diem*, which was paid monthly, from which Brown made always some deductions for shoes, stockings, shirts, broken swords, fusils, or some other necessaries the gentlemen wanted; though the King of France allows his soldiers half-mounting, and every captain fifty pistoles to make his campaign. All the favours the officers received from King James and Mareschal de Noailles, could not preserve their health, but they fell sick, every day, of fevers, agues, and fluxes; of which the Mareschal being informed, he desired them to leave the camp, and choose their own garrison, who humbly thanked his Excellency for his kind offer, but withal told him, They came not to that country to lie within old rotten walls, when the king of France (who was so kind to their master) had business in the field; therefore begged his excuse, and would not leave the camp while one man of them was alive. About the middle of June, 1693, the army marched from Roses to Piscador, where ten thousand did not arrive in the camp, of twenty-six thousand, but were left on the way, by reason of the extraordinary heat and want of water. The Generals, being afraid the Spanish army should attack their rear, ordered all the piquet to be drawn out immediately, and to march; but the greatest part of the army not being come up to the ground, the corporals could not get their complements to the piquets: in this accident, all the company of officers that were in the camp mounted for their comrades, and marched to the parade of the piquet; where the Generals, seeing only that piquet of the officers in readiness and good order, said to one another, *Le gentilhomme est toujours gentilhomme, et se montre toujours tel dans le besoin, et dans le danger*—Gentlemen are gentlemen, and will always show themselves such in time of need and danger. About the middle of July, they repassed some of the Pyrenees, and cantoned in Ville le France, at the foot of Mount Cenigo, till about the 20th of August, when they marched to Mount Escu, where Major-General Wachop, with some Irish troops, went to Savoy. Afterwards they made a second campaign on the plains of Cerdanna, and on the 1st of November returned to Perpignan, where they stayed twelve days; thence marched to Tourelles for winter quarters, where they received a rout to march to Alsace, which was procured by the interest of the officer's friends and acquaintances at St. Germains, who heard of their sickness in Catalonia, and made intercession with King James, to have them removed to another province that was more healthful and agreeable to their constitutions; which they thought to be Alsace, by reason of its coldness; which proved worse, as will afterwards appear. But before we leave Catalonia, I beg leave to give you a list of the names of the officers that died there of the natural diseases of the country, and by the fatigues and hardships of the campaign.

In Perpignan Hospital died,

Captain John Sinclair.
Captain John Dunbar.
Lieutenant William Culbert.
Lieutenant Thomas Gordon.
Lieutenant William Bruce.
Lieutenant Archibald Langlins.
Captain Edward Murrayman.
Captain James Henderson.
Lieutenant George Edwards.
Lieutenant David Bane.
Captain Charles Patin.
Lieutenant William Lyon, Sergeant.
Lieutenant James Gray.
Lieutenant Duncan Cameron.
Lieutenant Edward Cocheran.
Lieutenant David Drummond.
Captain Samuel Winram died at Tourelles.
Captain John Keith, } died at Colliver.
Lieut. Alex. Urquhart, }

Here is plainly seen the difference between gentlemen who are tenderly and plentifully brought up, and the poorer sort, who are pinched of all necessaries. The other two companies, who were all Scotsmen, had less pay, and did equal duty with the company of officers, lost not four men the whole campaign; whereas the company of officers, for want of good eating and drinking, clothes, linen and other necessaries, and by the extraordinary fatigues of guards and marches, were thrown into fluxes and fevers that carried them off.

The rout from Catalonia to Alsace, after this loss, no doubt was acceptable to the officers, but surprising to Mareschal de Noailles, who had used them with so much kindness. He immediately sent for Colonel Brown, and showed him his orders to march; and desired Brown to inform him, on his honour, if the gentlemen had received any affront from him or his officers, he would make them all imaginable satisfaction; and further declared, it was his resolution to provide for them all in his army, according to the posts they had enjoyed under King James; and that he never had troops under his command he respected so much as them, and was heartily sorry to part with them; but the King's orders must be obeyed.

On the 4th of December, 1693, the company of officers, with the other two Scots companies, began their march, from Tureilles in Rousillon to Silistad in Alsace. As for the gentlemen, in many respects they were very fit for that march; for the market of Perpignan eased them of that trouble they used to have in hiring mules for their baggage; so that, when they left the country, the most frugal of them could carry his equipage in a handkerchief, and many had none at all; and the fatigues and hardships of the campaign had reduced their bodies so very low, that many of them looked rather like shadows and skeletons than men. Their coats were old and thin, many of their breeches wanted lining, and their stockings and shoes were tore and wore in pieces; so that, by the time they came to Lyons, where they kept their Christmas, their miseries and wants were so many and great, that I am ashamed to express them. Yet no man that conversed with them, could ever accuse them of a disloyal thought, or the least uneasiness under their misfortunes. When they got over their bottles, (which was but seldom,) their conservation was of pity and compassion for their King and young Gentleman, and how His Majesty might be restored, without any prejudice to his subjects.

Notwithstanding all these misfortunes which the officers were under, Colonel Brown left them at Roman in Dauphiny, and went to St. Germains, without giving any of them a farthing to buy the necessaries they wanted, though he had above two months gratification money (as they called it) from King James, at five pence *per diem*, to every officer; such was the ill fortune of these worthy gentlemen, to have a person of such base principles to command them. Three days after they marched from Lyons, through the country of Brace, a storm of snow fell, three feet deep, and covered the ground, until the latter end of February; so that as they marched through the confines of Burgundy, the French county, and part of Alsace, where there was a famine, and great scarcity of all manner of provisions, the frost and cold was so vehement and piercing, and the King's allowance in the tap so small, that the officers were like to be starved with hunger and cold. Captain Alexander Sinclair was left sick at Besanson, and there died. On that march many of the officers gave themselves over for lost and dead men; and how could it be otherwise, for they saw nothing as they past, but a half starved people in some houses, and the rest empty.

When they arrived at Silistad, where they were to garrison, the governor, (who was their countryman) town-major, and the rest of the officers of the garrison, received them with incredible civility, and invited several of them frequently to dine and sup with them: but it was so extremely cold, and all sorts of provision so excessive dear, that the officers were obliged to open a second market at Silistad, of silver-handled swords, snuff-boxes, seals, silver buckles, English perukes, and wherever they came, they had always a running market of ruffles, cravats, stockings, and the like. In the beginning of the tragedy, some used to say, This is the seal of our family; I got it from my grandfather; therefore I'll never part with it: others, I got this ring from my mother, or mistress; I'll rather be damn'd than sell it! But when the gentleman Poverty came amongst them, he carried off every thing fair and clean, without any exception or distinction; and all the donor's returns, were their healths tossed about in a bumper, with a remnant of old Latin, *Necessitas non habet legem*. At Silistad the officers were in very great want, provisions dear, the bread sixpence per pound, and their pay was but threepence *per diem;* so that all they could purchase was a few horse-beans, turnips, colworts, or a little yellow seed, which they boiled in water, to keep life and soul together. They were certainly very religious, for they kept Lent all the year round. Though their sufferings and hardships in Alsace far exceeded any misfortunes they met with in Catalonia, yet it was observed by all strangers that conversed with them, that even in their greatest extremities they never repined, nor accused King James for his own, or their calamities; but with a primitive Christian patience and courage, humbly submitted themselves to providence, knowing and believing, that God was just, and would, at his own appointed time, establish the Royal Family in the throne.

The only friends the company of officers had along with them in their travels, were Captain Foster and Captain Drycot, who commanded the other two companies; they often treated them, and supplied them with necessaries, as far as their cirstances would permit; and I should not forgive myself if I forgot honest Captain George Shyn, who never let a gentleman want a dinner, nor a bottle of wine, when he had money in his pocket. As for Colonels Brown, Gordon, Scot, and Major Buchan, who cheated them out of the fivepence per diem that King James allowed them, it is not to be presumed the gentlemen often troubled their tables. In Silistad, June 10, 1694, on the young Gentleman's birth-day, Colonel Brown invited many of the officers to a treat, and to drink the King, young Gentleman, and Queen's healths, where some of them, particularly Lieutenant Patrick Dickson, told him frankly how ill he had used them; and that if his Majesty was rightly informed, he would lose his commission, and be for ever banished the King's presence. On this the company broke up; and it became a very good excuse afterwards for the Colonel, never to give a tenth day of June's treat to any of the company of officers. That year the company of officers, and the other two, lay in garrison at Silistad, all that campaign, because of their hard march from Catalonia, the sickness that was amongst them, and their not being able to make up a battalion.

There died in Silistad,

Captain William Main.
Captain David Carmichall.
Ensign Allan Maclean.
Lieutenant Turner.
Lieutenant Andrew Simpson, Corporal.

All in the company of officers.

And the news thereof being carried a second time to St. Germains, King James, who had always a paternal tenderness for all his subjects, especially for that honourable company of loyalists, sent immediately orders to Colonel Brown, to give as many of the officers their discharges as pleased, and that they should make the best of their way to St. Germains. Upon the receiving of his Majesty's letter, the Colonel assembled the company; and reading it to them, Jesuitically desired the favour of the gentlemen to stay six months, till he had got recruits from Flanders and France for the company. But all his design was to have the days short, and roads deep, that they could not march: which stratagem did not take; for they stayed till November, and then the following gentlemen, viz.

Captain Colin Campbell,
Captain Robert Arbuthnot,
Captain John Mackintosh,

Captain John Hamilton,
Captain Philip Hamilton,
Captain David Arneil,
Captain Walter Achmuty,
Lieutenant John Mewrice,
Captain and Engineer John Hepburn,
Lieutenant John Oglethorp,
Lieutenant Robert Killoch,
Lieutenant Patrick Dickson,
Lieutenant John Paterson,
Captain Isaac Thrycle,

demanded their discharges, and went to St. Germains, where they met with a gracious reception from his Majesty, and had it put to their choice, either to stay at St. Germains upon a handsome subsistence, or, with other officers, to have a sum of money to carry them to their own country. But they stayed some days at court, without any determination; in which time, the young Gentleman went to Marli for his diversion; and, as is usual, took coach at the gate, where he saw four of the company of officers, whom he knew by their soldier's clothes, and beckoned to them. The gentlemen made haste, and all, kneeling, kissed his hand, which was the second time. He told them, "He was sorry for their misfortunes, and that he hoped to live to see his Majesty in a condition to reward their sufferings; as for himself, he was but a child, and did not understand much; but according to the rude notions he had of government and the affairs of this world, they were men of honour, and loyal subjects, and had by their sufferings laid such obligations upon him in his childhood, that he could never forget them." When he had thus expressed himself, he gave them his purse, and desired they would divide it amongst them, and go drink his Majesty and the Queen's health; withal he told them, he was sorry the Queen allowed him no more money. Then he went to his coach, and they to the Prince of Orange's Head Tavern; where they spoke no treason, nor burned pretenders. There were ten pistoles and three half-crowns in the purse, and after they divided the money, there was like to be a quarrel about the purse, for the sake of the donor; the noise whereof being immediately carried to court, some of the nobility sent a footman, in the King's name, for the purse, which was sent, though his Majesty knew nothing of the matter. Often afterwards, when the young Gentleman, in his walks in the garden, saw any of the officers, he gave them pistoles, half-pistoles, or what money he had about him, and desired them to go dine, and tell no person he had given them any thing. When he had dined, if he had not seen several of the officers standing by his table, he used to say, he admired where his Scots Protestant officers were, and confess, of all the subjects that followed James, he loved them best. As for priests, he could never endure them, and when any stood by his table, he used, with a stern and angry countenance, to say, They had ruined his father, but they should never serve him so. Observe that in all this company of officers, there were not four Roman Catholics, but several young Protestant divines, who at the revolution, when the

Episcopal clergy of Scotland were mobbed and murdered by the Presbyterians, went to the Highlands with Dundee,—who for their good services gave them commissions,—and after his death went to France.

The account the officers gave King James and the court of France of their sufferings, and ill usage they received from Colonel Brown, together with some insolent language he gave the noble Earl of Dunfermline, who was sacred to the court and the officers, rendered him so ridiculous, that no gentleman would converse with him. He had likewise a rencounter with Captain Robert Arbuthnot, one of the officers, at the castle gate of St. Germains, where both drew, and made several pushes, but were prevented by the guards; and when the rencounter was examined by the duke of Powys, Brown was ordered to beg Arbuthnot pardon.

But the Brown fox, whose practices were agreeable to his education, notwithstanding all the ills he had been guilty of, had yet a hole to run into. He drew up a certificate at St. Germains of the many services he had done to the officers, which he sent to Silistad to Colonel Scot and Major Buchan, who prevailed with the Governor to assemble the company, and desire them to subscribe it, which, by Scot and Buchan's insinuations a few did, and many did not. But when it was brought to St. Germain's, and presented to his Majesty, all the officer's names in the company were at it; whence some believed, and Brown's friends positively affirmed, the officers had been very much in the wrong to him, and that he had done them justice, till letters came from Silistad showing the contrary, and that the major part of the officers had protested against it; particularly five or six English gentlemen, who told the Governor, that king James allowed them fivepence per diem extraordinary, and that it was monthly paid to Colonel Brown, who never had accounted with them for it: again, when Roses was taken, that Mareschal de Noailles gave every officer in the company a pistole, two shirts, a pair of shoes, a night-cap and two cravats; and Brown had given some gentlemen the pistole, but no shirt nor shoes; to others a shirt, or pair of shoes, but no pistole; so that he did with the Mareschal's present what he pleased: again, a mule that cost the Mareschal de Noailles fifty pistoles, which he presented to the officers to carry their tents, was sold by Major Buchan, and he never accounted with them for the money. Many other grievances like unto these were exhibited to the Governor, who was both surprised and ashamed to appear in Colonel Brown's behalf; so that letters came from Silistad, showing what objections the officers made to the Governor against the certificate, and that not a third part of the gentlemen had subscribed it; upon which Colonel Brown was slighted by every body, and ordered to his command in Silistad. Afterwards all the officers in the company were exactly paid tenpence per diem. The only material thing that was transacted while the company of officers, and the other two, were at Silistad, was, that in 1694, Prince Lewis of Baden, with his army of 80,000 men, passed the Rhine, and stayed three weeks in Alsace, which he designed to bring under contribution. Then the three Scots companies, with a battalion of the Namur regiment, were in garrison at Silistad, where the governor was apprehensive of a siege; and was often pleased to declare publicly, that if he were besieged, he depended more on the service of these three companies, particularly on that of the officers, than he did on the two battalions. But Prince Lewis of Baden, receiving intelligence that Mareschal de Boufflers was advancing with 15,000 horse and dragoons, left all his baggage, and retreated in confusion, broke his bridges as he passed the Rhine, and drowned 3000 of his own men. In the mean time, there was 100 hussars of his army foraging and plundering in Alsace, and the next day when they came to their camp, they were surprised to hear French drums, and that their own army were repassed the Rhine, and they left on the French side; but immediately resolved to march through Alsace, and make the best of their way to Basil, whereof Mareschal de Lorge had intelligence, and despatched couriers to all the governors to send out their garrisons, and line all the ways through which they thought those hussars might pass. The governor of Silistad, being glad of an opportunity to serve the company of officers, sent them to guard a pass, where he knew the hussars must infallibly come, who marching directly thither, were informed by a Jew, that if they advanced any farther, every man of them would be either taken or killed; for there was a company of the king of Britain's officers that lay in wait for them; they immediately returned to Strasburg, and gave themselves up prisoners, where they declared, that if they could have passed that company of officers, they would not have been afraid of all the garrisons in Alsace, but marched quite through, and crossed the Rhine at Basil in Switzerland. In February, 1695, the company of officers and the other two marched from Silistad to Old Brisac, whence the company of officers were sent to Fort Cadette in the Rhine, where they lay one year and four months: thence they marched to Strasburg, and in December, 1697, General Stirk appeared with 16,000 men on the other side of the Rhine, which obliged the Marquis de Sell to draw out all the garrisons in Alsace, who made up about 4000 men, and he encamped on the other side of the Rhine, over against General Stirk, to prevent his passing the Rhine, and carrying a bridge over into an island in the middle of the Rhine, which the French foresaw would be of great prejudice to them, and that the enemy's guns planted on that island would extremely gall their camp, which they could not hinder for the deepness of the water, and their wanting of boats, for which the Marquis quickly sent, but coming too late, the Germans had carried a bridge over into the island, where they posted above 500 men, who by the orders of their engineers entrenched themselves; which the company of officers perceiving, who always grasped after honour, and scorned all thoughts of danger, resolved to wade the river, and attack the Germans in the island; and for that effect, desired Captain John Foster, who then commanded them, to beg of the Marquis that they might have liberty to attack the Germans in the island; who told Captain Foster, when the boats came up, they should be the first that attacked. Foster courteously thanked the Marquis, and told him, they would wade into the island, who shrunk up his shoulders, prayed God to bless them, and desired them to do what they pleased. Captain Foster went immediately to the company of officers, who with the other two got privately to their arms, it being under night, and tied their arms, shoes and stockings, about their necks, advanced quietly to the banks of the river, went softly in, and waded hand in hand, according to the Highland fashion, where the water was as high as their breasts; and as soon as they passed the depth of the river, they halted, untied their cartouch-boxes and firelocks, (all this while the Germans in the island were very busy entrenching themselves,) then they marched with rested firelocks, and poured in a whole volley of shot at them; at which surprise the enemy ran in confusion, broke down their own bridges, and several of them were drowned; the officers pursuing them close, killed several of them. When the Marquis de Sell heard the firing, and understood that the Germans were beat out of the island, he made the sign of the cross on his face and breast, and declared publicly, that it was the bravest action that ever he saw, and that his army had no honour by it.

As soon as the boats came, the Marquis sent into the island to acquaint the officers, he would send them both troops and provisions, who thanked his Excellency, and desired he should be informed that they wanted no troops, and could not spare time to make use of provisions, and only desired spades, shovels, and pickaxes, wherewith they might entrench themselves, which were immediately sent to them. The next morning, the Marquis came into the island, and kindly embraced every officer, and thanked them for the good service they had done his master, assuring them, he would write a true account of their honour and bravery to the court of France, which, at the reading his letters, immediately went to St. Germains, and thanked King James for the services his subjects had done on the Rhine.

The Marquis gave every one of the company of officers a pistole, and they encamped six weeks on that island, when it was covered with snow, and there were no fires to be kindled in the night time, neither durst any man sleep under pain of death. General Stirk made several attempts to surprise the island, and pass the Rhine, but the officers were so watchful, that all his endeavours were in vain, so that he was forced to decamp, and retreat to the country; and that island is called at present Isle d'Escosse, and will in likelihood bear that name until the general conflagration. Afterwards the company of officers, with the other two, returned to Strasburg, where they lay two years in garrison. In the year 1696, a party of hussars passed the Rhine above Fort Louis, which the Marquis having intelligence of, sent out the company of officers, who attacked the hussars in a wood, and killed several of them, got a few horses, and some baggage. Then the hussars immediately retreated over the

Rhine: and this was the last action of those gentlemen, for in a few weeks a treaty of peace was proposed, and K. W. would agree to nothing until the company of officers.was broke; and when the peace was concluded, the three companies marched from Strasburg to Silistad, where they were broke. The company of officers had liberty to go where they pleased, but the other two companies were joined unto my Lord Malock's dragoons. Of that company of officers there are not sixteen living.

And thus was dissolved one of the best companies that ever marched under command! Gentlemen, who in the midst of all their pressures and obscurity, never forgot they were gentlemen; and whom the sweets of a brave, a just, and honourable conscience, rendered perhaps more happy, under those sufferings, than the most prosperous and triumphant in iniquity, since our minds stamp our happiness.

THE END.

THE

Navigation

OF

KING JAMES V.

ROUND

SCOTLAND,

The Orkney Isles,

AND THE

HEBRIDES, OR WESTERN ISLES;

Under the Conduct of

THAT EXCELLENT PILOT,

Alexander Lindsay.

METHODIZED

BY NICHOLAS D'ARVILLE,

Chief Cosmographer to the French King.

LONDON:
Printed for the Booksellers.
1710.

Glasgow:
RE-PRINTED FOR JOHN WYLIE & CO.
By Robert Chapman.

1819.

PREFACE.

THE author of the following treatise was Nicholas d'Arfeville, chief cosmographer of the French King. In 1546, the Lord Dudley, the English admiral, invited him to England, Mr. John Ferrier, who continued Hector Boethius's history, assisted him to translate it into French; after which he presented it to Henry II. of France. The author, by the command of the French King, afterwards, in 1547, went, with sixteen galleys commanded by the Sieur Leon Strozza, prior of Capua, and admiral of all the galleys of France, to besiege the castle of St. Andrew's, which then held out, being garrisoned by those who had killed Cardinal Beatoun. Drummond * gives this account of that voyage, That King James sailed with five well-manned ships, and gave out that he designed to steer his course to France; but it is more likely he designed to try the behaviour of the great men of the kingdom in his absence. He arrived at Orkney, placed garrisons in some forts, and sailed about the islands of Skye and the Lewis; he surprised the chief of the clans of those Highland islanders, whom he sent as hostages to the castles of Dumbarton and Edinburgh: and when, by the skill of one Alexander Lindsay, his pilot, he had sounded the

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* Vide Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 309.

remotest rocks of his kingdom, he was driven by storms to land at St. Ninians, near Whitehorn in Galloway. This voyage did so terrify those islanders, that it brought long peace and quietness to those places afterwards. This active and brave prince not only ventured his life in pursuing and apprehending robbers and highwaymen, which had been neglected in his minority, but his care extended to the most remote islands and rocks of his kingdom: by this voyage he humbled those leaders who thought they might set up for themselves, and exercise tyranny over their vassals and tenants. No doubt, he had the advantage of the fishing of herrings and other fish in his view, which was made more easy when the safest harbours amongst those dangerous rocks were discovered, the dangers, and the way to avoid them, shown, and a full account given of the distances and courses, and the points to which the tides flowed, and the times of full sea. This may be of considerable use to those who sail about those islands for fishing or otherways. It cannot fail to please the curious, being the navigation of a king, and never before published in the English tongue.

THE

NAMES, LENGTH AND BREADTH

OF THE

Orkney Isles.

	MILES LENGTH.	MILES BREADTH.
Pomona,	32	4, 5, & 6
Swinna,	3	2
South Ronalsha,	6	4
Burra,	1	1
Lambholm,	1	1
Swethay,	1½	1½
Flotta,	1½	1½
Waes,	10	8
Faira,	1	0½
Westra,	7	2½
Eda,	5	4
Sanda,	10	4 & 5
North Ronalsha,	2	1
Stronsa,	6	4
Schapinsha,	6	4
Elgyne-Holm,	0	0
Ewe,	0	0
Inhallo,	0	0

	LENGTH.	BREADTH.
Rousa,	6	4
Egilsha,	2	1
Gairsa,	2	1
Cowlensay,	1	0½
Damsey,	0½	1
Hoy,	6	4
Pappa of Stronsa,	0	0
Gairsa,	0	0
Pappa Westra,	0	0
Cowna,	0	0

The middle of the Orkney Isles lies in lat. 61. min. 40. lon. 30.

THE

NAVIGATION

OF

KING JAMES V.

The Courses of the Tides from the Haven of Leith.

AT Leith, when it blows, the tides run S. S. W. and N. N E.

From St. Abb's-head, to the river of Humber, for two miles distance from the shore, the tide runs W. S. W. and E. N. E. At seven miles distance from land, it is E. to W.

The Flowings and Ebbings of the Sea from Leith to the River Humber.

From Leith to St. Abb's-head, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea.

From Bamborough to the point of Flamborough, when the moon is W. by S. it is full sea.

From Flamborough to the river Humber, when the moon is E. or W. it is full sea.

The Courses from the Haven of Leith to the River Humber.

In sailing to the North, betwixt Leith and Kinghorn, the course to the Basse must be N. by E. and S. by W.

From the Basse to St. Abb's-head, the course is E. S. E. and W. N. W. St. Abb's-head, the Holy Island, lies S. by E. and N. by W.

The course from the Holy Island, amidst the Staples, till you have passed the place called Pluk, and that called Suagmonde, is S. S. E. And when you are straight within the Channel, betwixt the Pluk and the Gouldstone, the castle of Bamborough will then be to you S. S. W.

From Suagmonde through the Channel, betwixt Byndelness and Fern-Island, the course is E. S. E. and sometimes S. E. by E. Byndelness and Hontilfirth lie S. E. by S. and N. W. by N.

From St. Abb's-head, to shun the danger of the Staples, the course must be E. S. E. The point of W. of Staples and Flamborough-head lie S. E. by S. and N. W. and by N. Flamborough-head and the river Humber lie S. S. E.

The Distances from Leith to the Humber.

From Leith to St. Abb's-head, 60 miles.
From St. Abb's-head to Byndelness, 30.
From Byndelness to Flamborough-head, 110.
From Flamborough-head to the Humber, 40.

The Havens, Soundings, and Dangers, from Leith to Humber.

If you would stay in the road of Leith, cast anchor at N. W. or W. N. W. straight against the town of Leith, and you shall have seven fathoms water at full sea, and three and a half at low water.

The first danger is called Staples, and lies N. E. from Bamborough, at a mile distance from the shore.

Out from Blyth, not far from the shore, lie the Souves and the Grises, which are two great dangers, six miles N. from Flamborough-head.

At Whitby, one mile from the shore, lies a rock, called Whitby-rock.

At the entry of the river Humber there is a danger called Stony-bank, and on the S. a sand bank called Bull; don't come within seven fathoms of Stony-bank.

The Courses of the Tides from the Haven of Leith to Dungsby-head in Caithness.

From the Road of Leith to the isle of May, the tide runs S. S. W. and N. N. E.

From the point of the Fife, to the point called Red-head, along the coasts of Aberdeen to Buchanness, the tide runs S. S. W. and N. N. E.

From the coast of Aberdeen and Buchanness to Dungsby-head, the tide runs S. and N.

The Flowings and Ebbings of the Sea, from Leith to Dungsby-head.

Betwixt Leith and Kinghorn, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea.

At the point of Fife, when the moon is S. W. a little to the S. it is high water.

At Dundee, when the moon is S. W. by S. it is high water.

From Dundee, to the point called Edde, on the coasts to Aberdeen, when the moon is S. by W. it is high water.

In the Road of Murray, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea.

At Inverness, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea.

Along the coasts of Caithness, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea.

At Wick in Caithness, when the moon is S. and by S. E. it is full sea.

The Courses from Leith to Dungsby-head.

From the Road of Leith to Inchkeith, the course is N. N. E.

From Inchkeith to the isle of May, the course is N. E. and by E.

From Inchkeith to the point of Fife, the course is N. E. and by E.

The isle of May, and the point of Fife, lie S. and N.

The point of Fife, and Red-head, lie S. by W. and N. by E.

From the point of Fife to St. Andrew's, the course is W. by N.

From the point of Fife to the mouth of the river Tay, the course is N. by W.

The point called Red-head, and Montrose, lie S. and N.

The coast of Aberdeen, Buchanness, and Torrisness, lie S. S. E. N. N. W.

Buchanness and Torrisness, lie S. E. and N. W.

From Torrisness to Banff, the course is W. by S.

From Banff to the mouth of the river Spey, the course is W.

From the coast of Murray to Inverness, the course is W. S. W.

From Torrisness to Cromarty, the course is W.

Buchanness and Dungsby-head lie S. E. by S. and N. W. by N.

Distances from Leith to Dungsby-head.

From Leith to Inchkeith, 4 miles.

From Inchkeith to the isle of May, 20.

From the isle of May to Fifeness, 8.

From Inchkeith to Fifeness, 28.

From Fifeness to the mouth of the river Tay, 11.

From the point of Fife to the Red-head, 19.

From the Red-head to the coast of Aberdeen, 33.

From the coast of Aberdeen to the mouth of the small river called Ethan, or Ellone, 11.

From Aberdeen to Buchanness, 40.

From Buchanness to Torrisness, 20.

From Torrisness to Banff, 20.

From Banff to the mouth of the river Spey, 18.

From the mouth of the river Spey to Inverness, 38.
From the mouth of the same river to Cromarty, 40.
From Buchanness to Cromarty, 100.
From Buchanness to Tayne, 70.
From Tayne to a mountain called Urd, 50.
From Urd to the point of Nesse, 24.
From the point of Nesse to Dungsby-head, 12.
From Buchanness to Dungsby-head, 120.
From Leith to Dungsby-head, 280.
From Leith to Wick, 146.

The Havens, Soundings, and Dangers, betwixt Leith and Dungsby-head.

If you would pass Fifeness, you must notice a danger called Carwick, which lies E. N. E. from the coast; the best way to avoid it, is to have the steeple of Crail in your view.

If you would put in at St. Andrew's, cast anchor a mile from the town, where you shall find a good bottom, and seven fathoms water.

If you would enter Dundee, keep the north side of the church upon the bar, and on the N. W. straight overagainst Brouchty, because there is a dangerous sand called Brumlaw.

Betwixt Fifeness and Red-head, 12 miles to the E. S. E. of Red-head, there lies a danger called Inchcop.

If you would enter the haven of Montrose, hold to the south side of that entry, so you shall shun a bank of sand.

Upon the coast of Aberdeen, not far from the shore, lies a rock called the Girdill; if you would enter the harbour, take three quarters of the tide with you, because there lies a dangerous bank of sand in the mouth of the river.

Above Aberdeen, twelve miles north, there is a river called Ethan, or Ellan, where is a safe harbour for small ships.

On the coast of Buchan, six miles north from Slanis, not far from the shore, there are dangerous rocks called Buchan-Briggs.

Likewise, on the coast of Crouden, middle way betwixt Buchan and Torrisness, three quarters of a mile from the shore, lie very dangerous rocks, called Ratry-Briggs.

On the coast of Philorth there are others, called Philorth-Briggs.

Along the coast of Murray, there are many good roads for ships from ten to sixteen fathoms of water.

The bay of Cromarty is the best haven in Britain; whatever winds or storms blow, ships can enter it at all times with the tide.

If you would enter the harbour of Tayne or Dorneck, take the point of the bank of sand which lies at the mouth of the haven on the N. W. side.

From Taberthpes to the east of Dorneck, for three miles along the coasts of Sutherland, to a place called Urd, there are safe roads in all winds, except the E. S. E. and S.

The Courses of the Tides from Dungsby-head in Caithness to the Mule of Kintyre in Argyleshire.

Betwixt Dungsby-head and the point of Whiniknap, the tide runs S. S. E. and N. N. W.

Betwixt the Orkney islands and Shetland, the tide runs S. E. and N. W.

Betwixt the point of Whiniknap, and the point of Wraith, along the coasts of Caithness and Strathnaver, the tides run E. S. E. and W. N. W.

From Loch-bayne to Gairloch and Lochtersiurde, the tide runs N. by E. and S. by W.

Betwixt Roura and Kylarke, along the coasts, the tide runs E. and W.

From the isle of Lewis and Barra, the tide runs E. and W.

From Kylra to Ardemurthen, by the isles called Egg, Rum, Muck, and Canna, the tide runs E. and W.

From Ardemurthen to Colmkill, along the coasts of Mule, Cardemburg, Coll, and Terray, the tide runs N. by E. and S. by W.

From Lochaber, along the coasts among the isles of Kerera, Lung, Coill, Sarbay, Dura, Oronsay, and Cowlaus, the tide runs E. N. E. and W. S. W.

In the road of Ila, the tide runs S. and N. with great force.

Betwixt Ila and the Mule of Kintyre, the tide runs S. by E. and N. by W.

The Flowings and Ebbings of the Tides from Dungsby-head to the Mule of Cantire.

In Pictland-frith, and the isles of Orkney, when the moon is S. E. by S. it is full sea.

Betwixt Arwhitin and the Stoir of Assin, when the moon is S. S. E. it is high water.

From the Stoir of Assin to Loch-Byrney, and by the coast of Lewis, when the moon is S. by E. it is full sea.

From Loch-Byrney to Kilark, and Kilra, along the coasts of Skye, Wist, and Barra, when the moon is S. it is full sea.

From Ardemurthen, along the coast of Mull, Coill, and Terray, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea.

From Mull, along the coasts of Lorne, and the isles of Cauway, Loung, Cewil, and Scarba, when the moon is S. W. by S. it is full sea.

In the Road of Ila, it is full sea when the moon is S. W.

From Ila, along the coast of Knapdale and Kintyre, to the Mule of Kintyre, it is full sea when the moon is S. W.

The Courses and Distances from the Point of Dungsby to the Mule of Kintyre.

From Dungsby-head to the point of Mey upon the coast of Caithness, five miles, the course N. W.

From the point of Mey to the point or cape of Whiniknap, six miles, the course is N. W. by W.

From the point of Whiniknap to the point of Hobrune six miles, the course W.

From the point of Hobrune to Brumisness three miles, course W.

From Brumisness to Arquhitin 2 miles, course W.

From Arquhitin to Fairhead 15 miles, course W.

From Fairhead to the Stoir of Assin fifty miles, course S. S. E.

From Assin to Roura 13 miles, course S. S. W.

From Roura to Lochbyrne eight miles, course S. S. W.

From Lochbyrne to Lochow thirteen miles, course S. S. W.

From Lochow to Gairloch, or Lochultertown, six miles, course S. S. W.

From Lochultertown to Bruntilland eight miles, course S. S. W.

From Bruntilland to Kylark fifteen miles, course S. E. by E.

From Kylark to Kylra three miles, course E.

From Kylra to Ardemurthen thirty-three miles, course S. S. W.

From Ardemurthen to Lismore, within the mouth of Lochaber, twenty-two miles, the course is S. E. by E.

From Lismore to Lochspell ten miles, course S. S. E.

From Lochspell to Collonsa thirty-two miles, course S. S. W.

From Collonsa to the Road of Ila ten miles, course S. by E.

From the road of Ila to the Mule of Kintyre forty-six miles, course S. by E.

From the south point of Dura to Lochtarbat in Knapdale fifteen miles, course E. by S.

The Dangers, Soundings, and Havens, from Dungsby-head to the Mule of Kintyre upon the Coast of Scotland, and amongst the Isles.

Within the middle of Pictland-frith, betwixt Dungsby-head and the Orkney Islands, there is a dangerous place when it is low water, is called the Barr; to avoid it, the course must be N. W. of Dungsby-head, till you come to the N. by E. of Stroma.

On the north end of Stroma, there is a very dangerous place called Soule, occasioned by the meeting of four or five contrary tides, where is a considerable eddy or whirlpool, which makes a deep and roaring gulf, the middle of which is very dangerous for all sorts of ships.

Betwixt Swynna and Ronaldsa, there is a very dangerous tide called Crelis.

Half a mile from the point of Mey, there are dangerous rocks, called the Beard of Mey.

If you would put in at Orkney, cast anchor S. or S. W. of Kirkwal in the road, where you will find ten or twelve fathoms of water.

Betwixt Ronaldsay and Glomnysholm, there is an excellent road, called St. Margaret's Hope.

Betwixt the point of Whiniknap and the point of Sobrynne, there is a safe road, called Scarbster.

From Scarbster towards the west, thirty-two miles in the isle Martin, within the mouth of Doung, there is a good road, whatever winds or storms below.

From Theure twelve miles to the west, there is a good road, called Howipe.

There is another good road not far from the former, called Hariford, where ships may ride safely at anchor.

At the isle of Coune, four miles west from Arquhitin, there is good anchorage for ships.

Also at the isle of Ande, seventeen miles from the Stoir of Assin, likewise within the mouth of the straight of Kyle, and in the mouth of the Lochbyrne, Loch-hero, and Gairloch.

On the coast E. from Benissa, and the E. N. E. part of Sky, and the isles of Rona, Raarsa, and Scalpa, there is good anchorage.

On the east-side of Lewis, four miles from the shore, there are two isles, called Illen and Schaw, where there is shelter against all winds, except the S. E.

If you would ride betwixt Brintill-end and Kylark, hold to the east of the road over-against the castle of Stroma, where is eighty fathoms water; and on the west-side you will find no bottom.

Kylra is a straight passage, where is a dangerous tide; if you put into the Road of the Mule, over-against the castle of Arroisse, you shall find safe anchorage of ten and fourteen fathoms of depth.

Kylark is also a straight passage; betwixt Kylark and Kylra, there is a good road.

If you cast anchor at the castle of Dewar, you will find twenty-eight fathoms of water.

There is a good road against all winds, in the place called Calzow.

From the Mule to the Road of Ulway, and also in Lochspell, and isles of Carnera, Cywil, Lenyng, and Swinnay.

Betwixt Scarba and Dura, there is the most dangerous tide in Europe, because of contrary tides which encounter there, and run betwixt the Mule of Kintyre and Ila, and passing through a strait channel, it runs with such violence upon the coast of Scarba, that it is thrown back upon the coasts of Dura, with a frightful noise: In returning, it makes a deep and roaring whirlpool, which hinders all ships to enter; if they unluckily get in there, they are in great danger of being dashed in pieces; but the safest time to pass that place, is either when the water is at the highest or at the lowest ebb. This passage is commonly called Correbrekin.

The Tarbat of Dura is a good anchorage for ships, as also the Road of Ila, except that the tide runs with a strong current.

The Courses of the Tides from Kintyre to the Mule of Galloway.

At the Mule of Kintyre, and in the current betwixt the Mule, and the isle of Rachleyn, the tide runs S. E. and N. W.

From Kintyre to the point of Arglas, the tide runs N. N. E. and S. S. W.

At Sanday, the tide runs S. S. E. and N. N. W.

From the isle of Sanday, along the coasts of Arran, Bute, and Camraise, to the mouth of the river Clyde, the tide runs S. by E. and N. by W.

From Sanday to Loch-Reyan in Galloway, the tide runs S. E. and N. W.

At the Mule of Galloway, the tide runs S. E. and N. W.

On the coast of Galloway, the tide runs S. by W. and N. by E.

At Solway, the tide runs E. S. E. and W. N. W.

The Flowings and Ebbings of the Sea, from the Mule of Kintyre, along the Coasts of Carrick and Galloway, to the River of Solway.

At the Mule of Kintyre, when the moon is S. W. it is full sea.

On the coast of Arran and Bute, when the moon is S. it is full sea.

From Irving and Air, along the coast of Carrick, when the moon is S. by E. it is full sea.

At the Mule of Galloway, when the moon is S. it is full sea.

From the Mule of Galloway, along the coast to Solway, when the moon is S. by E. it is full sea.

Distances and Courses, from the Mule of Kintyre, to the River of Solway.

From Kintyre to Sanday twelve miles.

From Sanday to Arran thirteen miles, the course is N. E.

From Arran to Bute eight miles, the course is N. N. E.

From Bute to Dumbarton nineteen miles, the course towards the N.

From Bute to Air fifteen miles, course is E. S. E.

From Air to Loch-Reyan forty miles, course S. W.

From Loch-Reyan to the Mule of Galloway fifty-four miles, course S. E.

From the Mule of Galloway to St. Ninians fourteen miles, course E. by N.

From St. Ninians, *alias* Whitehorn, to the river of Crey twelve miles, Course N.

From Crey to the river Dee, or Dii, eighteen miles, course E.

From Dee to the river of Nith twenty-three miles, course W.

From Nith to the river of Annan eight miles, course E. by N.

From Annan to the river Esk, and Carlisle, thirteen miles, course E. by N.

The Harbours, Soundings, and Dangers betwixt Kintyre and Solway.

On the coast of Arran to the isle Lamlach, you shall find good anchorage for all ships: and in that place there is another good road on the north side of Arran, at all times, which is called the Loch of Reunsay.

If you would enter the mouth of the river of Air, take three quarters of the tide with you; for the low water is dangerous, because the bottom is hard, and full of flint stones.

In Loch-Reyan is a good harbour for all kinds of ships.

If you would ride at anchor at Wigtown, steer to the N. upon the coast of Whitehorn, till you come to the mouth of the river Crey, then cast anchor near the town, within the mouth of Blaidnoch.

If you would enter the haven of Kirkcudbright, take half tide with you.

If you would enter the river of Nith, take the full tide, that you may shun a bank of sand which lies in the mouth of the harbour.

From the Mule of Galloway, and the Isle of Man, when the moon is south, it is full sea.

From the Isle of Man, to the road over-against Arglas in Ireland, when the moon is south, it is full sea.

From the Mule of Galloway to the Isle of Man twenty-four miles, the course is S. E.

FINIS.

A
LETTER
FROM THE NOBILITY, BARONS AND COMMONS OF SCOTLAND,

In the Year 1320,

YET EXTANT UNDER ALL THE SEALS OF THE NOBILITY,

DIRECTED TO

POPE IOHN:

Wherein they declare their firm Resolutions, to adhere to their King ROBERT *the* BRUCE, *as the Restorer of the Safety, and Liberties of the People, and as having the true Right of Succession: But withall, They notwithstanding Declare, That if the King should offer to subvert their Civil Liberties, they will disown him as an Enemy, and choose another to be King, for their own Defence.*

Translated from the Original, in Latine, as it is insert by Sr. George Mckenzie of Rosehaugh, in his Observations on Precedency, &c.

Edinburgh: Re-printed in the Year 1689.

TO our most holy Father in Christ, and our Lord, John, by the Divine providence, chief Bishop of the most holy Roman, and Universal Church, Your Humble and Devoted Sons, Duncan Earle of Fyfe, Thomas Randolph Earle of Murray, Lord of Mannia and Annandale, Patrick de Dumbar, Earle of March, Malisius Earle of Strathern, Malcolm, Earle of Lennox, William, Earle of Ross, Magnus, Earle of Caithness and Orkney, William, Earle of Sutherland, Walter, Steward of Scotland, William de Soules, Buttelarius of Scotland, James, Lord of Douglas, Roger de Mowbray, David, Lord of Brechin, David de Graham, Ingelramus de Umfravile, John de Monteith, Warder of the Countie of Monteith, Alexander Frazer, Gilbert de Hay, Constable of Scotland, Robert de Keith, Marishal of Scotland, Henry de Sancto Claro, John de Graham, David de

Lyndsay, William Oliphant, Patrick de Graham, John de Fenton, William de Abernethie, David de Weyms, William de Monte-fixo Fergus, de Ardrossan, Eustachius de Maxwell, William de Ramsay, William de Monte-alto, Allan de Murray, Donald Campbel, John Camburn, Reginald le Chene, Alexander de Seton, Andrew de Lescelyne, and Alexander de Straton, and the rest of the Barons and freeholders, and whole community, or Commons of the Kingdom of Scotland, Send all manner of filial reverence, with devout kisses, of your Blessed, and happy feet.

Most holy Father and Lord, we know, and gather from ancient acts, and records, that in every famous Nation, this of Scotland hath been celebrat with many praises: This Nation having come from Sythia the greater, through the Tuscan Sea, and by Hercules pillars, and having for many ages taken its residence in Spain in the midst of a most fierce people, could never be brought in Subjection by any people, how Barbarous soever: And having removed from these parts, above 1200 years after the coming of the Israelites out of Egypt, did by many Victories and much toile, obtain these parts in the West, which they still possess, having expelled the Britons, and intirely rooted out the Picts, notwithstanding of the frequent assaults and invasions they mett with from the Norvegians, Danes, and English; And these parts and possessions they have alwayes retained free from all manner of Servitude, and Subjection, as ancient Histories do witness.

This Kingdom hath been governed by an uninterrupted succession of 113 Kings, all of our own

Native and Royal stock, without the interveening of any stranger.

The true Nobility and Merits of those Princes and people, are very remarkable, from this one consideration, (tho' there were no other evidence for it,) That the King of Kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, after his passion, and Resurrection, honoured them as it were the first, (though living in the outmost ends of the Earth,) with a Call to his most holy Faith: Neither would our Saviour have them confirmed in the Christian Faith, by any other Instrument, than his own first Apostle (tho' in order the second or third) St. Andrew the most worthy Brother of the Blessed Peter, whom he would alwayes have to be over us, as our patron, or protector.

Upon the weighty Consideration of these things our most holy Fathers, your Predecessors, did with many great and singular favours and priviledges, fence, and secure this Kingdom, and People as being the peculiar charge, and care, of the Brother of St. Peter; so that our Nation hath hitherto lived in freedom and quietness, under their protection, till the Magnificent, King Edward, Father to the present King of England, did under the colour of friendship, and allyance, or confederacie, with innumerable oppressions infest us who minded no fraud or deceit, at a time when we were without a King or Head, and when the People were unacquainted with warres and invasions. It is impossible for any whose own experience hath not informed him to describe, or fully to understand, the injuries, Blood, and violence, the depredations and fire, the imprisonments of Prelates, the burning, slaughter and robberie committed upon holy persons and Religious Houses, and a vast multitude of other Barbarities, which that King execute on this People without sparing of any Sex, or age, Religion, or order of men whatsoever.

But at length it pleased God, who only can heal after wounds, to restore us to Libertie, from these innumerable calamities, by our most Serene Prince King and Lord Robert, who for the delivering of his People and his own Rightful Inheritance from the Enemies hand, did like another Josua, or Maccabeus most chearfully undergo all manner of toyle, fatigue, hardship, and hazard. The Divine Providence, the right of Succession by the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom (which we will defend till death), and the due and Lawfull Consent and Assent of all the People, made him our King and Prince. To him we are oblidged, and resolved to adhere in all things, both upon the account of his right, and his own merit, as being the person who hath restored the people's safety, in defence of their Liberties. But after all, if this Prince shall leave these principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we or our Kingdom be subjected to the King or people of England, we will immediatly endeavour to expell him, as our Enemy and as the Subverter, both of his own and our rights, and will make another King, who will defend our Liberties: For so long as there shall but one hundred of us remain alive, we will never give consent to subject our selves to the Dominion of the English. For it is not Glory, it is not Riches, neither is it Honour, but it is Liberty alone that we fight, and contend for, which no Honest man will lose, but with his life.

For these reasons, most Reverend Father and Lord, We do with most earnest prayers, from our bended Knees and Hearts, beg, and entreat, your Holiness, that you may be pleased with a sincere, and cordial piety, to consider, that with Him, whose Vicar on Earth you are, there is no respect nor distinction of Jew, nor Greek, Scots, nor English, and that with a tender and Fatherly eye, you may look upon the calamities, and straits, brought upon us, and the Church of God by the English; and that you may admonish, and exhort the King of England, (who may well rest satisfied with his own possessions, since that Kingdom of old used to be sufficient for seven or moe Kings,) to suffer us to live at peace in that narrow spot of Scotland, beyond which we have no habitation, since we desire nothing but our own, and we on our part, as farr as we are able, with respect to our own condition, shall effectually agree to him in every thing that may procure our quiet.

It is your concernment, Most Holy Father, to interpose in this, when you see how farr the Violence, and Barbaritie of the Pagans is let loose to rage against Christendom for punishing of the sins of the Christians, and how much they dayly encroach upon the Christian Territories. And it is your interest to notice, that there be no ground given for reflecting on your memory, if you should suffer any part of the Church, to come under a scandal, or Ecclipse (which we pray God may prevent) during your times.

Let it therefore please your Holiness, to exhort the Christian Princes, not to make the warres betwixt them and their Neighbours, a pretext for not going to the relief of the Holy Land, since that is not the true cause of the impediment: The truer ground of it is, that they have a much nearer prospect of advantage, and farr less opposition, in the subduing of their weaker Neighbours. And God (who is ignorant of nothing) knows, with how much chearfulness, both our King, and we would goe thither, if the King of England would leave us in peace, and we doe hereby testifie and declare it to the Vicar of Christ, and to all Christendom.

But, if your Holyness shall be too credulous of the English misrepresentations, and not give firm credit to what we have said, nor desist to favour the English, to our destruction; wee must believe that the Most High will lay to your charge, all the Blood, loss of Souls, and other calamities that shall follow on either hand, betwixt us and them.

Your Holiness in granting our just desires, will oblidge us in every case, where our duty shall require it, to endeavour your satisfaction, as becomes the obedient Sons of the Vicar of Christ.

We commit the defence of our cause, to him who is the Soveraigne King and Judge, we cast the burden of our cares upon him, and hope for such an issue as may give strength, and courage to us, and bring our Enemies to nothing. The most High God long preserve your Serenity and Holyness to his Holy Church.

Given at the Monastry of Aberbrothock in Scotland, the Sixth day of April, in the year of Grace M.CCC.XX. And of our said King's reign the XV. year.

FINIS.

TREATISES

ON

THE SECOND SIGHT.

TREATISES ON THE SECOND SIGHT.

BY

THEOPHILUS INSULANUS,

Rev. Mr. Frazer, Mr. Martin,

AND

JOHN AUBREY, ESQ. F. R. S.

As when a shepherd of the Hebrid isles,
Placed far amid the melancholy main,
(Whether it be lone fancy him beguiles,
Or that aerial beings sometimes deign
To stand, embodied to our senses plain,)
Sees on the naked hill, or valley low,
The whilst in ocean Phœbus dips his wain,
A vast assembly moving to and fro;
Then all at once in air dissolves the wondrous show.

THOMSON.

Glasgow:
PRINTED FOR J. WYLIE & CO.
By Robert Chapman.

1819.

PREFACE.

THE celebrated faculty on which the following Treatises are composed, we think, may have partly had its origin in the atmospherical phenomena, most common to mountainous regions; taken advantage of by designing persons; received and heightened by all the common causes of superstition and deceit, viz. melancholy, natural weakness of sight, timid dispositions, and the levity of relators. We allude to those appearances in the air, caused by the unequal refraction of the sun's rays: such as the Spectre of the Broken; the Fata Morgana in Sicily; and the Mirage in the hot sandy desert of Arabia, which makes the arid plains seem a lake of pure water, reflecting all the surrounding scenery: "Such a view (says Dr. Clarke) affords us ideas of the horrible despondency to which travellers must sometimes be exposed, who, in traversing the interminable desert, destitute of water, and perishing with thirst, having this deceitful prospect before their eyes." Pomponatius, in his treatise de Incantatione, with regard to those appearances, says, "That they are observed but in the night, early in the morning, or towards the close of day." The air at these times being more replete with gross vapours, which by the unequal disposure of their parts, appear in a variety of images to the eye, but are dispersed by the heat of the sun; for we find often, that in the twilight or moonshine, strange figures of things appear to us, which are caused by the various mixtures of light and shadows.

We therefore question not, but a little skill in optics, would have enabled many to give a very consistent account of those strange Idola; which, from the attestations of a few gross and ignorant spectators, have been entered with so much solemnity in the many registers of prodigious occurrences. We cannot illustrate our remarks better, than by inserting the relation of a phenomenon, similar to the Spectre of the Broken; which was observed in the year 1743-4, on the Mountain of Souter Fell in Cumberland: it excited much conversation and alarm at the time, and exposed to great ridicule those who asserted they had witnessed it. It is however too well attested not to deserve a short notice here.

Souter Fell is a mountain about half a mile high, inclosed on the north and west sides by precipitous rocks, but somewhat more open on the east, and easier of access. At Wilton Hall, within half a mile of this mountain, on a summer's evening, in the year 1743, a farmer and his servant sitting at the door, saw the figure of a man with a dog, pursuing some horses along Souter Fell side; a place so steep, that a horse could scarcely travel on it: they appeared to run at an amazing pace, till they got out of sight at the lower end of the Fell

On the following morning, the farmer and his servant ascended the steep side of the mountain, in full expectation that they should find the man lying dead, being persuaded that the swiftness with which he ran must have killed him; and imagined also that they should pick up some of the shoes, which they thought the horses must have lost in galloping at so furious a rate. They were however disappointed, as not the least vestige of either man or horse appeared, not so much as the mark of a horse's hoof on the turf.

On the 23d of June, of the following year, 1744, about half-past seven in the evening, the same servant, then residing at Blakehills, at an equal distance from the mountain, being in a field in front of the farm house, saw a troop of horsemen riding on Souter Fell side, in pretty close ranks, and at a brisk pace. Having observed them for some time, he called out his young master, who, before the spot was pointed out to him, discovered the aerial troopers; and this phenomenon was shortly after witnessed by the whole family. The visionary horsemen appeared to come from the lower part of Souter Fell, and were visible at a place called Knott: they then moved in regular troops along the side of the Fell, till they came opposite Blakehills, when they went over the mountain. They thus described a kind of curvilinear path, and their first as well as their last appearance was bounded by the foot of the mountain: their pace was that of a regular swift walk, and they were seen for upwards of two hours, when darkness intervened. Several troops were seen in succession, and frequently the last, or last but one in the troop would quit his position, gallop to the front, and then observe the same pace with the others. The same change was visible to all the spectators; and the sight was not confined to Blakehills, but was witnessed by the inhabitants of the cottages within a mile. It was attested before a magistrate by the two above-cited individuals, in the month of July, 1785. Twenty-six persons are said in the attestation to have witnessed the march of these aerial travellers.

It should be remarked, that these appearances were observed on the eve of the rebellion, when troops of horsemen might be privately exercising; and as the imitative powers of the Spectre of the Broken, demonstrate that the actions of human beings are sometimes pictured in the clouds, it seems highly probable, on a consideration of all the circumstances of this latter phenomenon on Souter Fell, that certain thin vapours must have hovered round the summit of the mountain when the appearances were observed. It is also probable, that these vapours may have been impressed with the shadowy forms which seemed to "imitate humanity," by a particular operation of the sun's rays, united with some singular, but unknown, refractive combinations, then taking place in the atmosphere.

W.

June 12, 1819.

A
TREATISE
ON
The Second Sight,
Dreams and Apparitions:
WITH
SEVERAL INSTANCES SUFFICIENTLY ATTESTED;
AND
AN APPENDIX
OF OTHERS EQUALLY AUTHENTIC:
THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED WITH
LETTERS TO AND FROM THE AUTHOR
On the Subject of his Treatise;
AND
A SHORT DISSERTATION
ON THE
Mischievous Effects of Loose Principles.

BY THEOPHILUS INSULANUS.

——————Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum. HOR.

Hoc quicunque velis scriptum cognoscere, Lector,
Quum præcepta ferat quæ sunt gratissima vitæ;
Commoda multa feres. Sin autem spreveris illud,
Non me scriptorem, sed te neglexeris ipse. CATO.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by Ruddiman, Auld, and Co., Printers,
MOROCCO'S CLOSE, LAWN-MARKET.
M,DCC,LXIII.

THE

EPISTLE DEDICATORY,

TO

THE HONOURABLE

Sir Hary Monro, of Foulis,

Baronet.

AT a time when the pulpit resounds with repeated exclamations against the infidelity of the age, when vice reigns triumphant, and atheism, or at least deistical principles are openly avowed, and by too many much countenanced; is it not highly reasonable, that we should take counsel of the good king Jehosaphat; much in our situation when he peremptorily enjoined: "Believe in the Lord your God, so shall you be established; believe his Prophets, so shall you prosper?"

When Britain is embarked in a just war, against powerful rivals of her wealth and grandeur, and the professed enemies of our religion and constitution, who seem to place their glory and interest, in being able to deprive us and our posterity of the most valuable blessings of both; can it be denied, that there is the most urgent necessity to clear up the momentous truths of religion, in a way level to most capacities? which being once established, and rivetted in the minds of all ranks, would be a more powerful motive to inspire courage, greatness and intrepidity of soul, in defence of our king and country, than all the titles and preferments the government can bestow. If we take a survey of history, we shall find, that few of the heroes of antiquity ever succeeded well, but by interesting the reigning religion of their country in the execution of their schemes. The soldiers of Gustavus Adolphus were not more remarkable for their courage than piety: bravery is so far from being extinguished or diminished by a true sense of religion, that it is rather raised thereby; and the man who is, or thinks himself truly pious, will slight those dangers that seem terrible to the dissolute, who neither are, nor can, be good soldiers, patriots, or believers.

The conspicuous examples transmitted to posterity by your father and uncle, who fell gloriously fighting for their country's cause, are recent; and the many instances of sincere friendship I received from them, are still so fresh in my memory, that I lay hold of this opportunity to acknowledge them in this public manner, by inscribing your name to this small performance. You will not expect, that I should compliment you upon the figure your predecessors, for many ages, have made at home and abroad: history may furnish the inquisitive with their military achievements, very much to their honour. I shall only add, that I wish, and expect, you will tread in the same paths, that have been pointed out by such zealous patriots, who, on all occasions, in the most perilous times, have, with sword in hand, opposed all who attempted to ruin the state, or disturb the common tranquillity: and, in that light, have appeared more worthy of respect and imitation, than those pageant objects of popular admiration, who have nothing but pomp and splendid titles to recommend them. I am,

Honoured Sir,

Your most humble servant,

THEOPHILUS INSULANUS.

N. B. This dedication was wrote in 1761

THE

PREFACE.

TO communicate our thoughts to the public, is the prevailing pursuit of the age. The infection has reached me, so that I have set myself to write on a subject very uncommon. The motive which determined me, is neither vanity nor ambition, but arises purely from a desire to advance, in my low sphere, the glory of God and the benefit of mankind. And being animated with zeal for the cause of truth, my aim is to render my readers truly pious. I know not how I shall succeed; that must be left to the courteous reader; but were I sure to gain one of a score, I would with pleasure renew my labour, to write on the same subject. As the Being of a God has been, from the light of nature, visible frame of the world, and the indelible impression on the mind of man, plainly discovered by the learned in all ages; and the same fairly demonstrated, more level to the capacities of those who have not attained to the use of the learned languages, by Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Clarke, Mr. Woolaston, the Archbishop of Cambray, and several others; Atheism is now so overpowered, and so put out of countenance, that it would be idle and needless in one of my size, to insist further on that subject: but as there are still some men, under the plausible name of Freethinkers, question the immortality of the soul, and would willingly unhinge all religion; it may not be an improper introduction to the following treatise on the Second Sight, to expose the folly of these deluded persons, and assert the dignity of human nature, preferable to all other terrestrial creatures, with the reasonableness, and many advantages arising from the belief, that the soul of man is immortal. As man alone, of the several inhabitants of this lower world, entertains the belief of a Deity, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, pays homage to his Creator, is obedient to parents and lawful magistrates, and exerts himself to promote, in his station, the welfare of the community he belongs to; can it be thought, much less asserted, that a Being endued with such superior properties, should have no other pre-eminence after this life, than the brutes of the earth, who, for ought we know, have no knowledge, nor are in practice of those duties, so beneficial to mankind, and every individual? On the contrary, should those momentous truths be exploded, as idle, impertinent, or useless, what would ensue, but that every man might follow the dictates of his own depraved will, break down all restraint, open a door to lawless power, ambition, covetousness, rapine, murder, revenge, and, in a word, turn all to anarchy and confusion, which the noble faculty of reason was wisely bestowed upon us to guard against and prevent? The soul of man is towering, always on wing, flies from pole to pole in a moment; inclines to have its memory preserved in this world, and aspires to immortality in the next; which shows it to be different from the principle, whatever it is, that animates the brutes; as it is manifest they have no such longings, or ambition: and therefore it is unreasonable to put them on the same level with Sir Isaac Newton, or any other shining genius, who have made such useful and exact observations in natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy; of which the best horse in England, Spain or Barbary, is utterly incapable.

Man, considered as he consists of soul and body, in his outward and worst part, you shall find that to be admirable, even to astonishment; in respect of which the psalmist cries out, "I am fearfully and wonderfully made! marvellous are thy works, and that my soul knoweth right well!" The frame of our body is so curiously wrought, and every part of it so full of miracle, that Galen, otherwise not forward in the belief of a Deity, when he had anatomized the human body, and carefully surveyed every part thereof, with their properties, uses, fitness, and symmetry of the whole, fell into a pang of devotion, and wrote a hymn to his Creator. But this *domicilium corporis*, though it be a curious fabric, is nothing to the noble inhabitant that dwells within it. How does the glorious faculty of reason and understanding exalt us above all other earthly creatures? Further, when a person considers this spacious theatre of the earth, laid out and furnished with various ingredients for the reception and entertainment of man, the chief, and most accomplished of all its inhabitants! and sees all the creatures made subject to his sway and dominion, part for his food and clothing, others for his delight and pleasure, the trees of the field producing spontaneously delicious fruits to satisfy his thirst, and indulge his taste and curiosity, enamelled meadows bringing up all sorts of herbs to charm and recreate his fancy with the prospect of such beautiful landscapes, and while they regale his senses with their fragrancy, serve him, in many cases, with the best and safest physic: the bowels of his pedestal furnishing him with mines of gold and silver, costly pearls and diamonds, both for use and ornament, the most of which are useless to, and disregarded by all other creatures: can a person, I say, consider these peculiar privileges, and at the same time not acknowledge this distinguishing badge of the bounty of Heaven, bestowed on man alone, to be a forerunner of incomparably greater favours in another life? of all the creatures we are acquainted with, man alone stands erect:

Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit. OVID.

Being, by that posture, enabled not only to have the Heavens in his view, with the daily and annual revolutions of those glorious systems above us, which must raise his admiration and excite his devotion; but also seem intended to keep him in mind, how extensive soever his power is upon earth, that his origin is not from himself, but from another infinitely more powerful, wise, and Almighty Being, to whom, as his Lord and Master, he owes the tribute of his homage, and is accountable for his administration; which other creatures are not, as they are tied to no positive laws but what arise from natural instinct, to propagate their kinds, nourish and defend their young ones: and yet, after this plentiful provision made for man, of what the earth and sea can afford, we find him dissatisfied, and still itching after more. So true is it what Mr. Pope observes:

The mind unquiet and confined at home,
Rests and expatiates in a life to come.

Moreover, as man is considered possessed of so many temporal enjoyments, can we imagine his happiness terminates only in the fruition of this transitory life, since he consists of soul and body? Man is confessedly possessed of sundry excellencies beyond the fowls of the air, the fishes of the sea, and the beasts of the field, and by being endued with reason, is remarkably distinguished from all other animals in the operations of his mind, so that he can will freely, judge, and reflect upon objects past, present, and to come: now, is it reasonable or credible to suppose, that his bountiful Creator, who has fitted him out in such a liberal way, making him lord of all the inferior creation, for his conveniency, use and pleasure, should intend no other benefit for this particular favourite, but what must arise from the gratification of his senses, which as often minister to his grief and disappointment; and then, after a life of four or five-score of years, at most, drops into his grave, without any more of him than of an ass that perisheth, exhausted with want and labour? The soul of man exists after the dissolution of the body, or is immortal: if it is immaterial, as the learned agree, it is indiscerptible, and therefore incapable of being dissolved, or demolished, as bodies are. This is Socrates his argument in Plato, which Cicero interprets thus, "*Nec discerpi, nec distrahi potest; nec igitur interire.*" If the soul could be material, which implies an absurdity, that is, if there be any matter that might be the cause of those faculties of thinking, willing, &c. yet still, since we cannot but be sensible that all these are faculties of the self same thing, and that all the several acts of the mind are likewise acts of the same thing, each of them individually and truly one; I say, since it is so, that matter must be so perfectly united in itself, so absolutely one, as no matter of our acquaintance can be; then the least that can be granted, is, that it should be truly solid and not actually divisible, that is, such as no natural cause could destroy: they that can fancy that matter may come to live, think and act spontaneously, by being reduced under certain modifications, or being invested with such a figure, or excited by a particular motion, these would do well to discover to us that degree of fineness, that alteration in the situation of its parts, at which matter may begin to find itself alive, and cogitative; and what is the critical lucky minute that introduces these important properties: if they do not this, nor have their eye on any particular crisis, it is a sign they have no good reason for what they say. Besides all this, since magnitude, figure and motion are but accidents of matter, not matter; and only substance is truly matter; and since the substance of any one part of matter does not essentially differ from that of another; if any matter can be by nature cogitative, all must be so: But this cannot be, as there is nothing more certain, than the contrary; as equivocal, or spontaneous generation has been long ago justly exploded; the soul's propagation *ex traduce*, deserves no better reception, seeing matter cannot be supposed, without the grossest absurdity, to produce a spiritual being, from any inherent or intrinsic quality; therefore the soul of man is not propagated in either of these ways, but is evidently inspired by the immediate power of God, in that manner which seemed fittest to his infinite wisdom, beyond the reach of our limited understanding to conceive. If the souls of men are mortal, the case of brutes is much preferable to that of men: the pleasures of brutes, though but sensual, are more sincere; being palled or diminished by no consideration, they go wholly into them without check or restraint; they are void of cares, are under no apprehension of want for themselves or their offspring, are never fatigued with any kind of inquiry after knowledge, are not anxious about their future state, nor can be disappointed in any hope or expectation; and, at last, some sudden unforeseen blow brings them to their end. The boundless and inquisitive researches after knowledge, are not the least argument for the spiritual nature of human souls, and that they are actuated by a higher principle than mere matter and motion. Our minds naturally grasp at a kind of omniscience, and, not content with the speculation of this or that particular science, hunt over the whole course of nature, and are desirous to comprehend, though unequal to their powers, whatever transactions have been in the world since the birth of time. These, and many more arguments that might be added, may serve to convince any reasonable man of the spirituality of the soul; but if any person wantonly rejects so much evidence, I appeal to the testimony of his own mind, as its operations are vastly different from what are discovered from any species of animals under whatever size or modification, and so be led on, by the consent of the learned, the many conclusive arguments that are advanced, and, from the strongest of all, the internal convictions of his own mind, to believe that the soul of man is immortal. And if we add to all the arguments already mentioned, that firm hope, that full assurance of a blessed immortality, expressed by all the martyrs under heathen and christian persecution, especially under Dioclesian, which animated them with intrepid resolution, joyfully to give up their bodies to be burnt, and their flesh to be torn to pieces; and on these melancholy occasions, to utter prophesies which were exactly fulfilled, according to the testimony of several impartial writers; is it possible that any candid freethinker, not governed by invincible prejudice, can seriously reflect on these amazing topics, the mature result of numbers, apparently divinely inspired, but that they must at the same time awaken his attention, strike his imagination, and fill his breast with a full persuasion, that the immediate power of God is manifestly concerned in all these communications, which, unless he throws off the man, must cherish hope, rouse and establish his faith to believe, that the soul of man is spiritual and immortal? I shall finish this preface with hints taken from Mr. Addison in the 2d vol. of the Spectator, No. 110. That learned, good, and great man, who did honour to his country, and to the republic of letters, after he had ridiculed, in his happy pleasant way, the credulity of weak minds, with respect to ghosts and goblins, &c. he subjoins as follows:

"At the same time, I think a person who is thus terrified with the imagination of ghosts and spectres, much more reasonable than one, who, contrary to the reports of all historians, sacred and profane, ancient and modern, and to the traditions of all nations, thinks the appearance of spirits fabulous and groundless: could not I give myself up to this general testimony of mankind, I should to the relations of particular persons who are now living, and whom I cannot distrust in other matters of fact. I might here add, that not only the historians, to whom we may join the poets, but likewise the philosophers of antiquity, have favoured this opinion. Lucretius himself, though, by the course of his philosophy, he was obliged to maintain that the soul did not exist separate from the body, makes no doubt of the reality of apparitions, and that men have often appeared after their death.

This I think very remarkable; he was so pressed with the matter of fact, which he could not have the confidence to deny, that he was forced to account for it, by one of the most absurd unphilosophical notions that ever was started. He tells us, that the surfaces of all bodies are perpetually flying off from their respective bodies, one after another; and that these surfaces, or thin cases that included each other, whilst they were joined in the body, like the coats of an onion, are sometimes seen entire, when they are separated from it; by which means we often behold the shapes and shadows of persons who are either dead or absent."

This Spectator concludes with a story out of Josephus, which, as it supports my doctrine of dreams, I give the reader, but cannot better, or so well express it, as in his own words: Glaphyra, the daughter of King Archilaus, after the death of her two first husbands, (being married to a third, who was brother to her first husband, and so passionately in love with her, that he turned off his former wife to make room for this marriage,) had a very odd kind of dream. She fancied that she saw her first husband coming towards her, and that she embraced him with great tenderness; when, in the midst of the pleasure which she expressed at the sight of him, he reproached her after the following manner: 'Glaphyra, says he, thou hast made good the old saying, that women are not to be trusted. Was not I the husband of thy virginity? Have I not children by thee? How couldst thou forget our loves so far as to enter into a second marriage, and after that into a third; nay, to take for thy husband a man who has so shamelessly crept into the bed of his brother? However, for the sake of our past loves, I shall free thee from thy present reproach, and make thee mine for ever.'

"Glaphyra told this dream to several women of her acquaintance, and died soon after. I thought this story might not be impertinent in this place, wherein I speak of those kings: besides, that the example deserves to be taken notice of, as it contains a most certain proof of the immortality of the soul and of Divine Providence. If any man thinks these facts incredible, let him enjoy his opinion to himself; but let him not endeavour to disturb the belief of others, who, by instances of this nature, are excited to the study of virtue."

Again, No. III. The next speculation contains a short summary of arguments for the immortality of the soul, but so strong and strictly conclusive, that impiety itself, with all the auxiliary arts it borrows from false philosophy and sophisms, is not able to disprove it. This consummate moralist next takes hold of a new hint, (which has not been opened or improved by others,) drawn from the perpetual progress of the soul to its perfection. This is a reflection with which he pleases himself, and very much heightens the relish of his readers; take it in his own words: "How can it enter into the thoughts of man, that the soul, which is capable of such immense perfections, and of receiving new improvements to all eternity, shall fall away into nothing, almost as soon as it is created? Are such abilities made for no purpose? A brute arrives at a point of perfection that he can never pass: in a few years he has all the endowments he is capable of; and were he to live ten thousand more, would be the same thing he is at present. Were a human soul thus at a stand in her accomplishments, were her faculties to be full blown, and incapable of further enlargements, I could imagine it might fall away insensibly, and drop at once into a state of annihilation: but can we believe a thinking being that is in a perpetual progress of improvements, and travelling on from perfection to perfection, after having just looked abroad into the works of its Creator, and made a few discoveries of his infinite goodness, wisdom, and power, must perish at her first setting out, and in the very beginning of her inquiries; a man, considered in his present state, seems only sent into the world to propagate his kind: he provides himself with a successor, and immediately quits his post to make room for him:

> ——————*Hæres*
> *Hæredem alterius, velut unda supervenit undam.*

He does not seem born to enjoy life, but to deliver it down to others. This is not surprising to consider in animals, which are formed for our use, and can finish their business in a short life. The silk-worm, after having spun her task, lays her eggs and dies. But a man can never have taken in his full measure of knowledge, has not time to subdue his passions, establish his soul in virtue, and come up to the perfection of his nature, before he is hurried off the stage: would an infinitely wise Being make such glorious creatures for so mean a purpose? Can he delight in the production of such abortive intelligences, such short-lived reasonable beings? Would he give us talents that are not to be exerted? Capacities that are never to be gratified? How can we find that wisdom, which shines through all his works in the formation of man, without looking on this world as only a nursery for the next, and believing that the several generations of rational creatures, which rise up and disappear in such quick succession, are only to receive their first rudiments of existence here, and afterwards to be transplanted into a more friendly climate, where they may spread and flourish to all eternity? There is not, in my opinion, a more pleasing and triumphant consideration in religion, than this of the perpetual progress which the soul makes towards the perfection of its nature, without ever arriving at a period in it. To look upon the soul as going on from strength to strength, to consider that she is to shine for ever with new accessions of glory, and brighten to all eternity; that she will be still adding virtue to virtue, and knowledge to knowledge, carries in it something wonderfully agreeable to that ambition which is natural to the mind of man. Nay, it must be a prospect pleasing to God himself, to see his creation for ever beautifying in his eyes, and drawing nearer to him, by greater degrees of resemblance. Methinks this single consideration, of the progress of a finite spirit to perfection, will be sufficient to extinguish all envy in inferior natures, and all contempt in superior. That cherubim, which now appears as a god to a human soul, knows very well that the period shall come about in eternity, when the human soul shall be as perfect as he himself now is: nay, when she shall look down upon that degree of perfection, as much as she now falls short of it. It is true, the higher nature still advances, and by that means preserves his distance and superiority in the scale of beings; but he knows how high soever the station is, of which he stands possessed at present, the inferior nature will at length mount up to it, and shine forth in the same degree of glory. With what astonishment and veneration may we look into our own souls, where there are such hidden stores of virtue and knowledge, such inexhausted sources of perfection? We know not yet what we shall be, nor will it ever enter into the heart of man to conceive the glory that will be always in reserve for him.

"The soul, considered with its creator, is like one of those mathematical lines, that may draw nearer to another for all eternity, without a possibility of touching it: and can there be a thought so transporting, as to consider ourselves in these perpetual approaches to him, who is not only the standard of perfection, but of happiness!"

It is very possible a person of weak intellects may turn superstitious, by a studious and too eager attention to revelation, by dreams, Second Sight, and other kinds of divination: but, in my opinion, (with which the great Mr. Addison and other devout men agree,) it is incomparably better to give way to such thoughts, as they settle in the mind an awful sense of the essentials of religion, and the duties required of us, than, with deists and freethinkers, to have none at all, which opens the door wide to infidelity, and those errors in speculation and practice, that are repugnant to received principles, sacred and profane, and unhappily adopted, in every age, under the specious veil of freethinking. To conclude this long Preface, I am persuaded the hypothesis I have chosen, will not only very much ruffle the contemptible race of mortals, who assume to themselves the boasted privilege of freethinking, of whom there is no great hopes; but will also be against the vitiated taste of the gay and youthful, who, having swallowed large draughts of the enchanting pleasures of sin, are not yet in the humour to be weaned from their favourite criminal pursuits, though at the hazard of losing infinitely more than they gain: but, as the latter may not have declared themselves of the same kidney with abandoned latitudinarians, there is still good hopes, when Passion subsides with increasing years, and Reason gains her sovereignty, they will open their eyes to read and consider what is meant; and, by the blessing of God, may be a help, while they are in the body, to make peace with their Creator, before the curtain be drawn, and they launch out into the world of spirits.

There is, (I am afraid,) more ill-nature in mankind, than of charity, especially in those who set up for critics, which possibly may dispose some who bear no good-will to my hypothesis, to represent me for a vain conceited person, open to the incense of applause; for no other reason I know, than that I cause print, at the end of this treatise, some letters, which possibly were never intended to be published. This leads me, in the first place, to acknowledge my want of delicacy in that respect, and submit myself to the censure of the ingenious authors of these spirited letters, for presuming to bring them to light, without their license: and in the next, as my true motives and designs are best known to my own breast, I will not, in justice to myself and others, offer to conceal, that if my collection, how careful soever I went about it, were stript of all the assistance I borrowed from other good authors, its merit, such as it is, would be much diminished, and far removed from what might flatter the vanity of any person possessed of tolerable judgment. But if these letters contain plausible objections against the Second Sight, &c. with my answers to take away the strength of what is urged; is it idle, impertinent, or even unentertaining, to expose both to the public, in the simple and genuine dress they first appeared, that the Reader may have the means, easily and fairly, to distinguish which of the opinions is most conclusive?

It is to be hoped, the candid Reader will excuse the frequent repetitions that are to be met with in the reasonings and arguments, for the subject of the following treatise, especially what is levelled at atheists, deists, and freethinkers, who are often treated without the ceremony that may be due to their rank: As it is the chief object of the author's intention to humble that race of men, and to cast light on the immortality of the soul; his zeal in pursuing that design, may have betrayed him to commit tautologies, which he expects may be forgiven, as he does not pretend to vie in correctness, with authors who have obliged mankind with more elaborate performances.

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A

TREATISE

ON THE

SECOND SIGHT,

Dreams, Apparitions, &c.

WHAT gave occasion to me at first, to turn my thoughts to write on the following subject, was, That having, some time ago, had the pleasure of a conversation with some wise and learned gentlemen, clergymen and others, as our discourse then turned mostly upon the SECOND SIGHT, I remember, they wanted that I should commit my thoughts to paper on that disputable subject And though I must be sensible of the narrowness of my genius, and small stock of philosophical attainments, to handle a point so nearly allied to what has been contraverted by some of the learned in all ages, and especially by the modern deists and free-thinkers. Yet as the testimony of facts (of which I am not unprovided) convey more certainty, to satisfy and compose the mind, than a thousand refined speculations; I have, to comply with their expectations, and the impertunity of some friends, inserted here a number of instances, delivered to me by men of known veracity, who had no interest or design to falsify or disguise the truth of their narration: and which may serve to convince all persons, who are not mere sceptics, or do not want mathematical demonstration, that the Second Sight (by whatever agency it is carried on,) has obtained credit among all ranks of people in these western islands of Scotland, and continent adjacent, from very early times down to the present. I begin with a relation one of those notable Seers made to myself on her deathbed.

CHRISTIAN MACCASKILL,

despairing to recover of a long sickness, begged I should come to see her; with which having complied, and finding by visible symptom, she could not draw much time; after I had put her in mind of her approaching end, enquired if she saw the Second Sight, (as was commonly believed,) she answered, very oft, but not with any satisfaction. I then asked what age she might be of the first time she arrived at that knowledge? She answered seventeen years or thereby; and that then coming, in the dusk of the evening, to a tenant's house in Borradale, and sitting by the fire-side she saw one Kenneth Maccaskil, who lived at a little distance, having a sheep belonging to herself, (which she had seen that day,) bound on the other side of the fire, and a knife in his hand cutting her throat, the blood running in a plate for that purpose; and then the scene disappeared: upon which she made all the haste she could to his house, and, finding the door shut, forced it open, when lo! she found the thief in the fang, challenged her mark on the sheep, and then went off; but the thief following her, she became afraid it was with intention to murder her; which instead of attempting, he gave her three or four ells of new linen, which he said was price enough for her sheep, and then strongly recommended to her to keep the whole a secret. From this confession I took occasion to exhort her, by a firm faith and earnest prayer, to endeavour to get a sight of her Saviour and Redeemer.

CHRISTIAN MACKINNON,

a woman of good report, declared to me, that being then serving William Matthison, (in my neighbourhood) and coming home at night, she saw her master in a winding-sheet, laid on a bed close to the fire-side, with a piece linen from under his chin tied to the crown of his head; all which she told his daughter that night, who was then a young girl in the house. In a few weeks he sickened, but lay in a back-house till the last night of his life, when he desired to be removed to the bed at the fire-side, where he expired with all the circumstances above related.

Mr. JOHN MACLEAN,

late minister in Mull, as he was walking in the fields, saw his daughter (who was then absent at Turloisg,) entering his house, her head muffled with linen; he followed at her heels, (as he thought) and asking his domestics if they had on a good fire, as he was sure his daughter wanted much to be warmed? they all denied to have seen her; which passed for that time: but, in eight days thereafter, the girl returned muffled, as seen by her father, and in a few days fevered, of which she died.

ANGUS CAMPBELL,

late tacksman of Eansay in Harris, a person of remarkable candour and probity, related, that in a fair sun-shining day, he saw a little fleet, consisting of nine vessels, with an easy leading gale, coming, under sail, to a place called Corminish, opposite to his house, where they dropt their anchors, having their long boats after them, and the crew of each walking the decks; and that his children and severals of his domestics took particular notice of a large sloop among them: as the place where they moored in was not a safe harbour, nor that sound a frequented passage to the western ocean, he despatched an express to his servants, who were at a good distance about their labouring, with a view to send a boat to those ships, either to bring them to a safe harbour, or to pilot them out to sea, as they choosed; and, after his servants came up, all of them saw the vessels, as formerly described; but while they were deliberating what to do, the scene disappeared gradually. In two years thereafter, the same number of ships, the remarkable sloop being among them, came and dropt anchor at Corminish, which was attended with all the circumstances above related, according as Eansay told the whole to Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, present Minister of the Harries, from whom I had this relation; and who says there are severals still living witnesses of the above representation and its accomplishment.

JOHN CAMPBELL,

son to the said Angus, now tacksman of Eansay, told me, he had seen two ships, cast on the shore of the north-west side of the island, he himself being on an eminence close to the shore, and that on the sudden both vanished from his sight; but was literally fulfilled at the same time, the first Second Sight (seen by his father) had its completion; there being two of the fleet before-mentioned, wrecked in the individual place, as he had seen them by the Second Sight.

JOHN MARTIN & DONALD MACLEOD.

On the twelfth of November, at even, 1755, Lieut. Keith, Lieut. Habden, with several others of the country gentlemen, went from the castle of Dunvegan, to the change-house of that place, where they diverted themselves for some time, with a moderate glass of wine; and as they were to return to the castle, all on a sudden, Mr. Keith dropt in his chair, with all the symptoms of death: the company suspecting him only in a trance, employed in vain all the ordinary means for his recovery. John Martin the change-keeper, whose office obliged him to give close attendance, imagined to have seen him fall dead in his chair, about three hours before he expired. Which he told me, as well as several others; and that this was the first time he had the Second Sight. The said night, Donald Macleod, merchant in Feorlig, being of the same company, saw the said Mr. Keith shrunk to the bigness of a young boy, and in the twinkling of an eye, resume his former size and posture; which he told me once and again: and that both he and John Martin, are still willing to make oath to the premises.

JOHN MACLEOD,

tacksman of Feorlig, informed me, that as he and a servant were employed about their labouring, they saw the deceased Mr. John Macleod, late minister of Diurinish, passing by; and having followed him a piece on his way, after they returned to their work, he inquired of his servant, if he observed any remarkable circumstance about the minister? who answered he did, and that he seemed to him, to dwindle away to the bigness of a boy of six or seven years old, and then recover his former size: which my informer having likewise observed, moved him to put the question to his servant. The minister some short time thereafter sickened, of which he died. And I am told, that this kind of the Second Sight, is commonly the sure forerunner of approaching death.

EUPHEMIA BEATON,

an honest, sensible, married woman, relates, that, when a girl, and living with her sister the mistress of Feorlig, she rose early in a morning, to make corn ready for grinding; and having brought with her a woman servant, famous for the Second Sight, as they came to the corn-yard, (which is close to the highway,) the servant desired her to keep to a side, as there was a small gathering, with a corps on a bier passing by; she replied that she apprehended no danger, as she had no faith in such predictions; the Seer said, what she had told would soon come to pass; and that her mother and several others she named, would follow the bier, with distinguishing marks of the tartan plaid that lay over the corps. In a few days thereafter, a young man of the neighbourhood was drowned accidentally; the day before the interment, his body was carried close to the corn-yard, followed by the persons foretold, and attended with all the circumstances above related.

CAPTAIN MACDONALD

of Castletown, (allowed by all his acquaintance to be a person of consummate integrity,) informed me that a Knoydart-man (being on board of a vessel at anchor in the Sound of the island Oransay, went under night out of the cabin to deck, and being missed by his company, some of them went to call him down; but not finding him, concluded he had dropt from the ship's side; when day came on, they got a long line furnished with hooks, (from a tenant's house close by the shore,) which having cast from the ship's side, some of the hooks got hold of his cloaths, so that they got the corps taken up. The owner of the long line told Captain MacDonald, that for a quarter of a year before that accident happened, he himself and his domestics, on every calm night, would hear lamentable cries at the shore where the corps were landed; and not only so, but the long lines that took up the corps, being hung on a pin in his house, all of them would hear an odd gingling of the hooks before and after going to bed, and that without any person, dog or cat touching them; and at other times, with fire light, see the long lines covered over with lucid globules, such as are seen drop from oars rowing under night.

BARBARA MACPHERSON,

relict of the deceased Mr. Alexander MacLeod, late minister of St. Kilda, informed me, the natives of that island have a particular kind of the Second Sight, which is always a fore-runner of their approaching end. Some months before they sicken, they are haunted with an apparition resembling themselves in all respects, as to their person, features or clothing: this image (seemingly animated) walks with them in the fields, in broad daylight; and if they are employed in delving, harrowing, seed-sowing, or any other occupation, they are at the same time mimicked by this ghostly visitant. My informer added further, that having visited a sick person of the inhabitants, she had the curiosity to inquire of him, if at any time he had seen any resemblance of himself, as above described? he answered in the affirmative, and told her, that to make further trial, as he was going out of his house on a morning, he put on straw-rope garters, instead of those he formerly used, and having gone to the fields, his other self appeared in such garters. The conclusion was, the sick man died of that ailment; and she no longer questioned the truth of those remarkable presages.

Mr. ANDERSON,

a person no less curious than possessed of strict good morals, relates, from his own knowledge, that when he was school-master at Strontian, in June 1755, his daughter, granddaughter, another gentlewoman and servant, travelling from Strontian, and were to be in company as far as near the current of Ardgower; that when they came in sight of the river of Sallachan, Rebecca MacCalman, of their number, (a girl of sixteen years of age,) observed, at some distance, on the other side of said river, a person covered with a loose light coloured garb, resembling a shroud, approaching to the water-side, and that at the very ford that her aunt and she were to cross, of which having told her fellow travellers, all of them saw the apparition, which moved forward and backward about the bank of the river among ferns; as they drew near the river, so did the phantom, and vanished from their sight on the spot opposite to the ford which they entered to cross the water. After they had passed the depth of the river, and were near the other side, both were carried off their feet, and the said Rebecca was drowned, notwithstanding all her aunt could do to prevent it. Another remarkable circumstance on this occasion is, that a widow woman in Sallachan, about an hour before the fatal event happened, saw in the sea (the very place where the corpse was taken up), an unusual agitation and bubbling on the surface followed by a rising of the water to a considerable height, resembling the form of a pyramid, which the said widow woman believed to be a shoal of salmon fish, and blamed the fishers that they did not shoot their nets there; but no fish being caught at that place for some time before or after, gave ground to conjecture, that the uncommon rising of the water portended what after happened.

JOHN THOMSON,

joiner, an honest discreet young man, informed me, that, when he served apprentice to Mr. John Chambers, square wright in the town of Paisley, and for some time thereafter when a journeyman with him, he had frequently told him, before they had a call to work at a coffin, that they were soon to be so employed, and often, in twenty-four hours after he acquainted him with his observation, it happened accordingly.

PATRICK MACÇASKIL,

an honest farmer of distinguished good morals among his neighbours, informed me, that, when he was a young man living with his father in Verkasaig, upon a certain day, as he was left in the house alone, he heard very audibly, as if it had been at no great distance, the noise of a wright sawing timber, and hewing with an adze, which he could distinguish from a hatchet; whereupon he left the house, to find who was so employed; but observing no person, he returned again to the house, and had no sooner taken his seat than he heard the same noise, so that he went out the second time; without being able to satisfy himself of the noise; the day being fair, he staid out a long time, still in hopes to discover the noise, but without succeeding, and then returned to the house; which he had no sooner entered, than he heard the noise as formerly; and now having gone out a third time, he went to a cottage hard by, in case the wright he had heard had gone in thither, but found no person except an old woman in bed, who that night was seized with a violent fit of sickness, of which she died before day, and a wright being called for to make her coffin, the declarant, as he sat in his father's house, heard him really at work, as he had the preceding in imagination.

MARGARET MORISON,

a widow of good repute, relates from what was told her by her father, that a knot of four women being at supper in his house, and having fish set before them in a kneading trough, one of them, named Greadach Munro, a notable Seer, rose on the sudden and threw up her meat; being inquired about her ailment, she told them, that soon after they began to eat of the fish, she saw a little corps stretched over the trough in his winding sheet, which disappeared in the twinkling of an eye, upon which she turned sickish, so as she had no stomach to partake further of what remained of the fish: in a few days thereafter, Donald Chisholm, then tenant in Glendale, going with a child to be baptized at Killmuir, and night coming on in his return, as he came to Doctor Morrison's house, took up his quarters there that night, where the child died before day of a sudden ailment. His father having no timber for his coffin, Doctor Morrison gave him the said trough (not having heard then of the Second Sight about it), which, with a little help of more boards, served for the purpose; and to verify a prediction by the Second Sight, which happened but eight or ten days before the completion.

CHRISTIAN MACDONALD

relates, that when she lived with her aunt at Uinish, being then between ten and twelve years of age, as she was coming out of the house, in the dusk of the evening, she saw at the door a gathering of people about a coffin, which so startled her, that she returned to the house, clapping her hands with great cries, and told the company within what she had seen. About a quarter of a year thereafter, her aunt sickened, of which she died, and then the declarant had the opportunity really to see the scene which before had put her into so much fright and confusion.

MAJOR DONALD MACLEOD,

who had been an officer in the Dutch service, having visited Roderick MacLeod of Hammer, who went along with him to visit William MacLeod of Watersteine, where having passed most of the day, as they were on their way to return, towards the evening, an old woman that lived in a cottage close to the road they passed by, had a view of them; and having met Watersteine as he came back from giving the convoy, inquired who was he that passed by with him and his brother? He told her it was a Dutch officer; upon which she said, they would never see him again, as she saw him shrouded up in his winding sheet, to the crown of his head; which she said was a sure sign of his approaching end. The Major soon thereafter went south, and waiting for a ship at Leith, to transport himself and recruits to Holland, was seized with a fever, of which he died. I had this relation from Watersteine himself, who was a person of unquestionable veracity, and remarkably pious.

THE LADY COLL,

happy in a pious education, and since in the practice of untainted virtue, informed me, that she heard at different times, in a closet adjoining to her bed chamber, a great noise as if the wall was fallen, which so alarmed her, that she went in directly into the said closet, and examined every thing about it, which she was surprised to find in the same order she had left them: In a few days, a person died in her neighbourhood, and some articles for his sowe and coffin were taken out of that closet; after which no more noise was heard therein. It is very frequently observed, that the articles employed for a sowe and coffin, are so haunted, as to make a noise for some time before they are put in use; according to many attestations.

THE LADY COLL,

above mentioned, likewise informed me, that one MacLean of Knock, an elderly reputable gentleman, living on their estate, as he walked in the fields before sun-set, he saw a neighbouring person, who had been sick of a long time, coming that way accompanied with another man; and, as they drew nearer, he asked them some questions, and how far they intended to go? The first answered, they were to travel forward to a village he named, and then pursued his journey with a more than ordinary pace: Next day early in the morning, he was invited to his neighbour's interment, which surprised him much, as he had seen and spoke with him the evening before; but was told by the messenger that came for him, the deceased person had been confined to his bed for seven weeks, and that he departed this life a little before sun-set, much about the the time he saw him in a vision the preceeding day.

EVAN MACSWEEN,

a person of uncommon probity, informed me, that Murdoch Campbell having flitted to his lands, but as he had no house to accommodate this new tenant, he with his own assistance, began to repair an old wall for his dwelling; and as they were so employed, one of the workmen who had been a Seer, appeared to faint away, upon which he called for a drink of cold water; which having got, he soon recovered; and being asked by my informer, if he had seen any thing to bring on that alteration? Said he had seen a corps within the wall they were repairing, and named the spot where it lay; however the work went on, and the said Murdoch continued therein for five years: about a year after Murdoch left it, Evan's father being sick for some time, requested his son to rear up that apartment for him, as being more retired from noise; which was accordingly done; and in a quarter of a year thereafter, expired in my informer's arms; who thereupon remembered it was in that individual spot pointed out by the Seer, above six years before it was accomplished.

The same gentleman relates, that Mary Niann Jainn, an old woman, travelling from Warkasaig to Idrikill, saw, with broad day-light, a company of men meeting her on the shore of Warkasaig, carrying a corps; among whom she distinguished John Macqueen, Duncan Macsween, and my informer, with their several stations, and not only so, but described the tartan plaid that overlaid the coffin, and the part it came from: All which was accomplished six days thereafter, a girl being drowned accidentally at Idrikill, and was carried to her interment, by the same shore, the persons above-named assisting, and several other, on that occasion.

DONALD MACKINNON,

an honest man, residing in Glendale, informed me, that when living in South-Uist, he had a servant woman remarkable for the Second Sight; who, upon a night as she grinded at the cairn, saw a corps stretched to a loose dale in the partition, in his winding-sheet, which only came down to his knees; this she immediately told publickly to all that were present; she had the same representation twice or thrice thereafter, which made the wife of the house apprehensive it concerned herself, or some of her children: In a short time thereafter, one John Mackinnon a neighbouring tenant, sickened, of which he soon died; John Oag Mackinnon, brother to the defunct, who had the charge to provide for his interment, applied to the declarant for timber to make his coffin, who gave him the dale to which the said Seer had seen a corps stretched at four different times; and as they could get no linen for a winding-sheet, the said John Oag was obliged to make use of one of his own wearing shirts, which when it was put on the corps, reached but to his knees; thereby fulfilling the Second Sight in all its circumstances.

ALEXANDER MACLEOD.

About sixty years ago, there was a singular instance of the Second Sight seen at Groul in Mininish; the possessor then of that tack, with a fair day, walked in the fields for his recreation, and as he was a man advanced in years, being somewhat tired with his exercise, reposed himself on the banks of a rivulet close to the common road, which afforded him an agreeable prospect; soon after he had sat down, observed a person coming that way, who had been his acquaintance, and whom he invited to rest, as he had done in that agreeable solitude: In a little time his companion discovered himself to be a Seer of the Second Sight, by informing Groul, that a small company with a corps on a bier, were just then coming the way that leads from Breattle, to the church-yard, which was in their sight, and about to cross the river that runs through the glen; and that, at the same time, he perceived a numerous gathering coming in at the other end of the glen, from Harport; which the first gathering having also observed, (as he thought,) laid down the bier, and made the best of their way to join the multitude, whom they followed, until they came opposite to the place where they left the bier, to which they returned with a supply of men to help them; upon which both the corps were carried with ease to the churchyard and interred. In some short time thereafter, Groul saw from his own house, two gatherings with corps coming the different roads, and in the same circumstances as already described. I had this relation from Alexander Macleod, present catechist in Sky and Glenely, who had it from an old ground-officer in Mininish, who lived in the parish co-temporary with the facts related.

FLORENCE MACLEOD,

spouse to the present minister of St. Kilda, informed me lately, that her mother Elizabeth Macleod, a gentlewoman distinguished from severals for piety and good morals, having come out of her house at Pabbay in the Harris, with a clear moon shining night, and having sat down to enjoy the pleasure of a calm serene air, and the beautiful prospect of a glittering starry firmament, both of them observed a domestic girl, who had been a native of St. Kilda, (they had left in the house,) issuing from it, covered over with a shroud of a darkish colour, and stalking across the distance betwixt them and the house, as if she intended to frighten them, and after continuing in this manner, for some time, disappeared. Upon their return to the house, the said Elizabeth challenged the girl for her frolic, who affirmed, with many asseverations, she had not left the house all the time her mistress and daughter were absent; to which the other servants gave testimony. In some short time thereafter, the same girl died of a fever, and as there was no linen in the place but what was unbleached, it was made use of for her sowe, which answered the representation exhibited to her mistress and the declarant, as above.

KATHARINE MACLEAN,

a girl living in Waternish, about fifteen years of age, saw frequently last harvest, 1758, a corps in its winding-sheet, stretched to a dale that stood in a partition of the house she lived in, when all the family were in perfect health: in the beginning of winter, immediately following, her grandpapa sickened but had some intermissions; about the middle of December he relapsed, so that he was watched at night; and the young Waternisian Sybil having gone for her aunt, to attend the sick person that night, told her, as they were on their way to the house, she was sure he would not outlive his distemper, as she had seen a corps often stretched to a dale in their house: it happened as she foretold, and the dale which he was seen to haunt, was employed for one to his coffin.

JOHN CAMPBELL,

younger of Ardslignish, in Ardnamorchuann, in the year 1729, returning home with Duncan Campbell his brother, since deceased, as they drew near the house, in a plain surrounded with bushes of wood, where they intended to discharge their fusees at a mark, observed a young girl, whom they knew to be one of their domestics, crossing the plain, and having called her by name, she did not answer, but run into the thicket. As the two brothers had been some days from home, and willing to know what happened in their absence, the youngest, John, pursued after, but could not find her. Immediately, as they arrived at home, having acquainted their mother they saw the said girl, and called after her, but she avoided their search, and would not speak to them: upon which they were told, she departed this life that same day. I had this relation from James Campbell in Girgadale, a young man of known modesty and candour; who had the story at several times from the said John Campbell.

Having frequently had occasion to converse with the late Reverend Mr. Donald MacLeod, minister of the gospel, anent the Second Sight, I could not, with all my philosophy, the force of my arguments, or from any instances which give credit to that kind of prediction, convince him there was any truth in them; but he always insisted those seeming intimations were the pure offspring of ignorance or enthusiastic credulity; and always advanced, we were to trust to a more sure word of prophecy, as if he had believed that revelation by dreams and visions was entirely ceased; and yet this person, who in all other respects was, more than most of men, (without being divinely inspired) remarkable for extensive benevolence and sanctity of manners;

God was pleased to make him an example of, to show that the Infinite God is not to be limited in his all-wise operations, by the erring confined conceptions of human understanding: for, about a fortnight before he departed this life, one ARCHIBALD MACLEAN, his servant, (who had never before seen the Second Sight,) as he was going in, under night, to a room in the closet, before he entered, saw, through a chink in the leaf, that chamber illuminated with an extraordinary blaze of light, and, having entered, saw a corpse stretched on a dale that stood in the room, dressed up in his winding-sheet; which having told next day among his fellow-servants, the minister at length was informed of it, who, having called for the Seer, and examined him on what he had seen, he owned and affirmed the scene for truth; upon which the minister said he did not believe it, though he never knew him before to have told a lie. The mistress of the house being present, in order to expose the vanity of the Second Sight, resolved to employ that dale in some immediate use, and ordered it to be laid aside; but before that was done the minister fevered, of which he died in six days, and that very dale was laid under his corpse after it was washen. Of all which I was informed by the Seer himself, by the relict, and the defunct's brother.

MARGARET MACLEOD,

an honest woman advanced in years, informed me, That when she was a young woman in the family of Grishirnish, a dairy maid, who daily used to herd the calves in a park close to the house, observed, at different times, a woman resembling herself in shape and attire, walking solitarily at no great distance from her; and being surprised at the apparition, to make further trial, she put the back part of her upper garment foremost, and, anon! the phantom was dressed in the same manner, which made her uneasy, believing it portended some fatal consequence to herself. In a short time thereafter she was seized with a fever, which brought her to her end; but before her sickness, and on her deathbed, declared this Second Sight to severals.

RODERICK MACLEOD,

a plain good-natured young man, informed me, That when he served the deceased reverend Mr. John Macleod, sometime minister of Diurinish, in the station of an overseer, as he was going into the principal house in the dusk of the evening, met the said Mr. John coming out, who came so close to him as to touch the declarant's clothes, as he imagined; but having entered the house, saw the same Mr. John sitting in a chair at his fire-side; and, being astonished to find him there, told what he had seen, of which the minister did not seem to take much notice; but thereafter, in three or four days, desired to know of him the circumstances of what he had seen; and the young man insisting that he saw him come out of the house the moment he entered, he said, the scene appears to be intended for a warning, but enjoined my informer to conceal it from his spouse. He died the same year, according to this and other presages of his approaching end.

NIC. ARTHUR,

known for a notable Seer, travelling from the castle of Mungary in Ardnamorchuann, accompanied with several others, asked, with a surprise, of her fellow-travellers, if they saw (as she did) a number of tents at Carnliadh, which though all denied to have seen, she confidently affirmed would one time or other cast up as really as she then saw them by the Second Sight. Ten years thereafter, in 1746, Captain Campbell of Craignish, who commanded a corps of Highlanders, pitched their tents in that individual spot at the foot of Carnliadh, whereby the said prediction was fulfilled. I had this relation from Mr. Campbell above-mentioned, who was informed thereof by severals, in all its circumstances.

Mr. DONALD MACLEOD,

late minister of Diurinish, formerly mentioned, having waited on the Mistress of Uinnish, to give her the account of her brother's death, who was killed at the siege of Quebec, the distressed sister for some time abandoned herself to the most violent pangs of grief; and as she was then incapable of receiving any relief from his ghostly admonitions, he thought proper to leave her to herself for some time; and soon thereafter, as he returned up stairs, one Katherine Maclean, a notable woman Seer, saw him from head to foot covered in his shroud, and told the same instantly to Mary Anderson, a young woman in the family, and in company with her; adding to the discovery, that as Mr. Donald had given the mournful tidings to the mistress, which had bathed her so much in tears, ere long his own death would very much augment her affliction, and be the subject of universal grief to all his parishioners; but withal desired the young woman not to speak to any person of what she had told her, until the event had justified the prediction; which happened in fifteen days thereafter. I had this narration from Mr. Anderson, who had it from his daughter and the Seer.

JOHN MACLEOD,

tacksman of Bay in the Isle of Sky, a gentleman not in the least tinctured with enthusiasm, declared to me, and several others, that, in a morning before he awaked, he dreamed, that a person whom he intimately knew came into the room where he lay, and told him, with much concern, that his late Majesty, George the Second of glorious memory, was departed this life, which he told directly to his spouse in bed with him; that same day the post having come on before he had well dressed, he got the public news, in which he found his dream verified: which is the more remarkable, that the King's death was so sudden, the account of his ailment could not have travelled to many parts in England, much less have time to circulate to the most remote parts of Scotland.

LAUCHLANE MACCULLOCH.

In the year 1744, Lauchlane Macculloch, then servant to Alexander Macdonald of Gearry-Dhonil, in Bein-Bicula, coming out of his master's house under night, before he had gone many paces, there appeared to him, at no great distance, a promiscuous heap of red-coats, and Highlandmen, on the path that led to the house, which sight so frighted him, that in the hurry he was in to get back to the house, he struck his shin against a stone to the effusion of his blood; and immediately, as soon as he entered, told what he had seen to his fellow servants. In 1746, Captain Ferguson, who commanded the Furnace sloop of war, at the head of a corps of the troops, and Argyle militia, came to Gearry-Dhonil's house, which gave an opportunity to all that were in the family to see them really, as Macculloch hed seen them about two years before, by the Second Sight. I had this relation from Alexander Macdonald, son to the above Gearry-Dhonil, a good sensible, modest young man, who acknowledged to me, that Macculloch owned to have seen the Sight as it came to pass.

The said ALEXANDER also told me, that as he had been on a jaunt in Arásaig, as he came out of his quarters under night, he saw a throng company carrying a coffin, directing their way where he stood; so that in some concern he returned with full speed to the house. I inquired, how long this sight continued? He told me, it lasted until he turned his back, to make his retreat from what he had never seen before; and says he no sooner entered the house, than he told it to all present. In two days thereafter, young Balfinlay sickened, and in three days more was interred, being carried to the churchyard on the same step of the way, where he saw the Second Sight but five days before its completion.

The above **ALEXANDER** declared farther, that a young child, his brother, being sickly for some time, he saw a little corpse stretched to a dale, that was at his own bed-foot several times; and that, when the child died, the same dale was employed to his coffin.

NEIL BETTON,

a sober judicious person, and elder in the session of Diurinish, informed me, as he had it from the deceased Mr. Kenneth Betton, late minister in Trotternish, that a farmer in the village of Airaidh, on the west side of the country, being towards evening to quit his work, he observed a traveller coming towards him, as he stood close to the highway; and, as he knew the man, waited his coming up; but when he began to speak with him, the traveller broke off the road abruptly, to the shore that was hard by; which, how soon he entered, he gave a loud cry; and, having proceeded on the shore, gave another loud cry at the middle of it, and so went on, until he came to a river, running through the middle of it, which he no sooner entered than he gave a third cry, and then saw him no more. On the farmer's coming home, he told all what he had heard and seen to those of his household; so the story spread, until from hand to hand it came to the person's own knowledge, who, having seen the farmer afterwards, inquired of him narrowly about it; who owned and told the whole as above. In less than a year thereafter, the same man, going with two more to cut wattling for creels, in Coille-na-Skiddil, he and they were drowned in the river where he heard him give the last cry.

ANGUS MACMILLAN.

In the year 1723, or 1724, there lived in the island of Isla, Angus MacMillan, an honest conscientious country farmer, in good esteem with all his acquaintances. He, and my informer, happened to meet on a day at Mr. Donald Campbell's house, (Macmillan's landlord); Mr. Campbell upbraided him (in joke) with the name of Seer, &c. He made answer, that, though he was not of that tribe, he ought not to jest for his diversion on such a serious subject; however, he could tell him of an event which was to happen that same day, in which he was the principal person concerned; and then told him, in presence of the company, he would break his leg before he arrived at Sunderland's, about a mile's distance. Mrs. Campbell hearing this prophecy, desired Mr. Camphell to stay at home for that day; but he laughed at her credulity, caused her to bring him a dram to drink to the Seer, and immediately took his horse (that stood saddled at the door); MacMillan, and my informer, following on foot, found him sprawling on the sand, and his leg broken, by a fall of horse and rider; whereupon they laid him on a bier brought from the church, and carried him with the help of others to Sunderland's house, where a doctor being accidentally, set his leg; my informer, (a person of great candour,) and MacMillan himself assisting at the operation.

MARY HENDERSON.

At Rapho, ten miles south-west from Londonderry, lived James Laird, merchant, and Mary Henderson his wife, a virtuous and pious gentlewoman. To them were born three sons, Matthew, Francis, and John: the father employing himself in the business of his merchandize, intrusted the education of the children (for most part) to the mother: in this charge she so well succeeded, that she brought up the two eldest for the ministry. About the year 1701, or 1702, beginning of winter, she sent Matthew the eldest, for his last year, to study divinity at Glasgow. Some few days after he left Rapho, as she and her servant maid were sitting by the fire-side, after the rest of the family were gone to bed, the night being stormy, the good woman smoking her pipe; all on the sudden she and her maid heard several doleful loud cries, the first loudest, the rest by degrees turning lower and lower. At the very first cry, the mother threw the pipe away, clapped her hands, and cried with a loud voice, Yon is the cry of my Matthew, and this night he is drowned! She immediately lighted a candle, got the key of his study; she and the maid went in, and found every thing in the same order her son had left them. Upon their return to the house, her weeping and lamentation alarmed the rest of the family; and she telling them what she had heard, all of them spent the remainder of that night in tears. And soon thereafter, to their inexpressible grief, were confirmed in the mother's suspicion of what she feared from so extraordinary a presage. My informer heard the above relation frequently from her own mouth (being a school-boy in said Rapho, some few years after the thing happened.)

KENNETH MORISON,

of good repute with his cotemporaries, then living at Glendale, had a revelation in a dream, as follows: A person informed him in sleep, that if he should repair to the kirk of Kilchoan, and look out at the east window, he might see at the distance of two pair of butts, in a direct line eastward, a stone larger than any near it in that direction; upon removing of which, he would find silver, which had been hid under it: and accordingly he lost no time, but went the next day to take his observation as he was directed; and, having found out the stone, was not disappointed, as it overlay a heap of silver under it of different size, coinage and value; a part of which was not then of the common currency. I had formerly this story given me for certain; but the above narration was lately confirmed to me by Alexander Morison, an elder in the parish of Durinish, and grandchild to the said Kenneth, who had it delivered to him from Doctor Donald Morison, his own father, in substance the same with what is already mentioned.

MRS. SINCLAIR.

In the year 1756, Richard Sinclair, then a merchant in the town of Thurso, returning at even home with his servant, as they came to the river close by the town, found it was swelled by a fall of rain, and much increased by the tide, which was in: the latter seemed averse to ford, which his master observing, lighted and gave him his own horse, and mounted his servant's horse, with which having entered the river, was soon carried by the flood out of his saddle, and was drowned. His wife knowing nothing then of the matter, as she was going from one room to another in her own house, saw Mr. Sinclair go up the stair to his own room, and called to a servant maid to bring him a candle and make up a fire; but after the servant had brought the light in great haste, found no person within: in less than an hour the noise went through the town, that the gentleman was drowned. I had this account from a person that came to the town next day, where the Second Sight of the preceding night was the common topic of conversation.

ANGUS GORDON,

a sedate, sensible, old man, eighty years of age or thereby, informed me, that being in company at Husebost, with John MacGhresich, who lived in a neighbouring village, and one or two more, they went to speak with John MacKenzie and his wife, a notable Seer, who were winnowing corn: and, after some discourse, MacGhresich having bid them farewel, the old Pythoness told the declarant, and others present, with great regret, they should not see him again, as she was sure he would be drowned. Three days thereafter, MacGhresich having gone to fish on a tempestuous day, either slipped by a false step of the rock where he took his stand, or was washed away by a surge, so that he was drowned: which not only verified the prediction, but also confirms, that the faculty of sight is no further employed in these revelations, than as a person wakened out of a dream, by the impression on his imagination in sleep, can recollect and describe, with the aid of memory, diversity of colours, situation of places, all kinds of animals, men, women, and children, with their different pursuits, affections, and attitudes.

MURDOCH MacLEOD,

who, most part of his time, was a tenant in Claiggen, an honest sincere Christian, informed me, that, when he was a youth, he happened to be a night at Husebost, and sitting with the whole family by the fire-side, and a good fire on, besides a lamp burning, as he looked towards a chest that stood near him, he saw a corpse fully stretched on said chest, and the candles burning over it. That very night, after the family went to bed, persons came from Collabost, (about a mile distant) raised part of the family, particularly the mistress of the house, and got candles out of that very chest to burn over a person who died that same night.

He related also, that when Alexander MacLeod of Losgander lived at Uinnish, (he himself being then a married man, having wife and children) being at Uinnish, and on the shore, when Losgander was sending a boat and crew, to ferry cows from the small isles of Uinnish, one Murdoch MacFarlane, obtained leave from his master not to go as one of the crew; and when he had left the boat, and came to the place where the declarant stood, he said, he repented not to have gone with the rest; the relater said to him he might go yet, at which he ran as fast as he could, and, as the boat was just going from the rock, he gave a spring to get into her; got his breast on the gunwale of the boat, but his feet sunk into the sea a little above the ancles; and as he was heaving up his feet to get them into the boat, the declarant saw his two soles as red as blood, and said to the bye-standers, that some accident would happen before their return by what he had seen, which he told publicly. John MacLeod, one of the crew, in their way home from the isles said day, was wounded by one of the cows' horns in the boat: the seer, when they came on shore, saw this man now covered over with real blood. He fevered and died of said wound in a very short time. And this was the second and last time that he saw the Second Sight; which had its completion the same day it appeared to his imagination.

It is hoped, by this time, the candid reader will entertain a favourable opinion of predictions, by dreams, visions, and the Second Sight, from a number of instances in that way, mentioned in the foregoing Treatise: yet I am very sensible severals will remain still scrupulous, as it is not easy to explain, level to most capacities, in what manner intelligences of this kind are conveyed; and although all men must acknowledge, that soul and body are different substances, and diverse in their operations, yet because of their confessed intimate union, they will not have the same faculty to assign to each their proper sphere of action. Some judicious divines suppose that the soul is clothed with a fine material vehicle, seated in the brain, where it receives sensations by the œconomy of the nerves, &c. yet whatever intercourse betwixt soul and body, may be thus managed, or in any other way, though it might be ascertained, it will, I presume, be impossible to finite minds, to account for prediction from natural causes, without we admit of revelation. If we reject the evidence of revelation, we sap the very foundation of all religion that ever yet appeared in the world, seeing the several nations and sects throughout the universe pretend to revelation. Zoroaster and Pythagoras have handed it down to their followers; the Brachmans and Dervises have pursued their track; and even Mahomet has more lately followed the same way. The Jews and Christians prove and maintain the system of their holy religion, as delivered to them by men divinely inspired, who foretold those momentous truths some hundred years before the event happened. Profane as well as sacred historians agree in the truth of revelation, by dreams and visions; and to this day, wherever human foot has trod in island and continent, the inhabitants are universally under the influence of this prevailing opinion, which seems to be coeval with the first of our species. If the instances in this collection, contribute in any degree to establish or elucidate so general a principle, for the benefit of those that are truly religious, it will afford me the greatest pleasure. As for those uncommon fanciful gentlemen, who neither believe a future state of rewards and punishments, or that they are of the rank they hold in the creation, they are truly to be pitied and allowed to be what they choose, without the use of reason; like children, fools, or ideots.

These instances of the Second Sight, to which many more might have been added, which had their accomplishments according to the representations exhibited, are sufficient to evince that the thing is true in fact. But how any person comes to be possessed of this spirit of divination, is attended with some difficulty, and deserves to be farther inquired into. Not to mention the testimony of inspired writers, all ages, and almost every country, have furnished men eminent for learning, probity, and other accomplishments, who have agreed in the belief of apparitions. And among others, the historians of several nations, both Greek and Roman, have concurred in this persuasion. What Plutarch relates of an apparition to Brutus, is so generally known that I need not relate it. Xenophon and Herodotus, with other historians, antient and modern, have handed down to us many instances of the certainty of apparitions; and with ourselves, Buchanan and Lindsay of Pitscottie, have delivered very remarkable stories of dreams and apparitions, which happened in their own time. In treating of this subject, it deserves to be remarked, how much the Heathen world conspired in the belief of predictions. It is confessed, that the responses given out by the priests and priestesses of heathen oracles were enigmatical, and often had a double *entendre* but if one would be pleased to examine what Doctor Prideaux and Plutarch remark about oracles, he must acknowledge, that though fraud and artifice might be sometimes employed to uphold their credit; yet the precise place, time and manner of their accomplishment, were so exactly hinted at, as leave no room to question their supernatural extraction. From many cogent proofs, I am induced to think, that the Second Sight is not seen by the organ of the eye; as an immaterial phantom cannot be the object of sight. Nor can the Second Sight arise from an innate quality; else it would be common to the whole species. But what is more probable, and I think sufficiently certain, is, that it must be communicated to the inhabitant within us, by a supernatural agent; which becomes the more evident, as some of these Seers after they became blind, had such notices given them as were verified in what after happened. And if we believe the existence of spirits, agreeable to the sense of the generality of mankind, there is nothing in the Second Sight, or dreams, shocking to our reason or understanding: otherwise, how could it happen, that what severals dreamed, were fulfilled in all their circumstances? Which appears by the following instances, out of many that I might add, if it did not swell this Treatise beyond what I intended.

Mr. MACLEOD.

The deceased Mr. John MacLeod, when minister in Lewis, dreamed, that a neighbouring gentleman, whom he intimately knew, came to his house, and told him, a neighbour had been dead that morning, and he came to invite him to the interment; when he awoke, he told the dream to his spouse, with distinguishing circumstances of his informer's garb: and that same day, in the afternoon, the same man came really to his house, exactly in the same manner he had seen him in his dream, with tidings of the neighbour's decease. This I heard from the minister's own mouth, at different times, and also from his spouse, yet in life.

Mr. ANDERSON,

(whom I had occasion formerly to mention,) assured me, that upon the sixteenth day of April, 1746, (being the day on which his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland obtained a glorious victory over the rebels at Culloden,) as he lay in bed with his spouse, towards the dawning of the day, he heard very audibly, a voice at his bed-head, inquiring, if he was awake? who answered, he was, but then took no further notice of it: a little time thereafter, the voice repeated, with greater vehemence, if he was awake? And he answering, as formerly, he was: there was some stop, when the voice repeated louder, asking the same question, and he making the same answer; but added, what the voice had to say; upon which it replied, The Prince is defeated, defeated, defeated! And in less than forty-eight hours thereafter, an express carried the welcome tidings of the fact into the country.

ANGUS BETTON,

a man of known integrity, told me, he dreamed a person was drowned in a particular place; which happened a quarter of a year thereafter, exactly corresponding with his dream.

NORMAND MACLEOD

of Watterstein, told me frequently, that his brother Lieutenant John MacLeod, dreamed of his grandfather, (then in perfect health,) that he was carried by the said Normand and one William MacLeod of Arnisdale, from a close bed in his dining-room, to another apartment, naming others that were in the house, and assisting on that occasion; all which he told the declarant next day: and in a week thereafter, the old gentleman sickened, and was carried by the above persons, from the close bed, to that in the upper room, where he expired with all the circumstances above related.

There is another circumstance of the Second Sight, not mentioned in the preceding collections, which I had attested from persons of veracity beyond exception, and has been often practised to find out the truth of these predictions; viz.

DONALD BEATON,

residenter in Hammir, related, that in his passage from Glasgow to the isle of Sky, he stopped at Tippermory, a known harbour in the island of Mull; and thereafter having been for some time windbound, a native there of his acquaintance came to their boat about sun-set, and having the loin of a deer, newly killed, made a present thereof to the declarant: who being son-in-law to a notable Seer, in order to make a trial of her skill, he wished that piece of venison in her hands. That same night the Seer, who lived with her daughter, his wife, apprehended she saw him enter the house with a shapeless lump in his hand, she knew not what, but that it resembled flesh; which gave herself and daughter great joy, as they had despaired of him by his long absence. In a short time thereafter he came home, and the old woman, inquiring minutely of the circumstances of his voyage, and if he had been handling any flesh-kind, upon a certain night she had seen him, by the Second Sight, discovered that it was the said precise night he wished her to have the said loin of venison.

One GORMALA MACLELLAN,

who still lives in Trotternish, has a particular turn of knowing events attended with the above circumstances, as appears by the following instances, of several sufficiently attested: she happened to be at variance with a woman-servant belonging to Allan MacDonald of Flodegarry, who, about ten o'clock at night, having potatoes in her hands, wished one of an extraordinary size in Gormala's throat, who was then at six miles distance; but before she could have the least access to hear of the favour intended her, she was by nine o'clock next morning at Flodegarry's house, and, in a high tone, complained to his lady of her servant's indiscretion.

Mr. John Nicolson, minister, some years ago, having got many surprising stories of Gormala's prophetic talent, to make a decisive trial of her skill, as he was going to bed, wished his hose about her neck; and only told the same to another clergyman, that was then in company, with a caution not to speak of it to any other. Yet though the secret was strictly kept between them, the first time Gormala had seen Mr. John thereafter, she advised him, in an angry manner, not to play his jokes on her, with such illusory marks of his benevolence, and then named the night on which he wished a certain pair of hose about her neck. I had this relation sent me in writ from the above Allan MacDonald of Flodegarry, who is a gentleman of good sense, and, though free from superstition, yet after careful inquiry he has made about the Second Sight in several places, had so many instances of the truth, duly attested, (as he owns) leave him no room any longer to question the veracity of these extraordinary discoveries.

JOHN MACKAY.

Being informed, that one John MacKay, a poor old man, living at Laoran in Glenelg, made no secret of having seen an apparition, I had the curiosity to call for him, to know the truth of a report that had prevailed, of his getting intelligence of future events; on that occasion, having obeyed my summons, and as I perceived that time had furrowed his visage, the first question I asked was about his age; which he said was about one hundred. I then proceeded to inquire of him, if he had met such a spirit as was commonly reported, and how he was entertained by him. Upon which he frankly acknowledged, that after night-fall, as he was coming home to his house in 1745, he heard a voice calling after him, Where was he going? To which he replied, That he was returning home to his house; and asked the voice, how far, and what route he was to travel? Who answered, he was to seek his mantle that lay near a rivulet hard by. This answer gave my informer a suspicion his new correspondent was more than human: and presently inquired, how it was to happen in these perilous times, to several chiefs of clans, and particularly to the old and young Barisdales, who were much in his esteem, as they were the most considerable persons in his neighbourhood: answer was returned to his several questions, but in such a mysterious enigmatical way as made the meaning very uncertain, and only conjectural. However, the old sage decyphered the words so as to correspond with the conduct and circumstances of those for whom they were intended. I asked, If he had seen the representation of what spoke with him, or if the voice seemed human? He answered in the negative to the first, and that the latter was more shrill than usually proceeds from material organs.

Ensign Donald MacLeod, and his brother Normand, persons of candour, who lived then at Laoran, informed me, that, having missed a cow for nine or ten days, which being sought out in vain by his herd, he at length coming accidentally to the said John MacKay's house, and having made mention to him of the cow that was lost or strayed; he told him, that he would find her perished in a certain spot, mangled by dogs at both ends, and directed to the place, with such marks of the situation, rocks and trees that were adjoining, that, without any mistake, he came to it, and found the cow, as described by old John, who had been for five weeks confined to his bed, and his wife absent all the time; so that he had no means to know any thing about the cow, but either from the Second Sight, or some other method of divination.

The said Ensign informed me, that, having gone with his wife to visit his father-in-law in the isle of Sky, night coming on, they were obliged to put up with a cave on the side of Lough Urn, to pass the night; and, as they were at supper, his wife took a cabbock of cheese in her hand, and, having covered it with three or four apples, wished it in a Seer's hand, who lived with her father; and who, that night, by the Second Sight, saw the gentlewoman offering her a cabbock of cheese, but was at a loss to know what the round things were that covered it, as perhaps she had seen none of the kind in her lifetime, until her master's daughter, upon her arrival, told her the whole.

There lives at Glenelg a person commonly known by the name of SERGEANT, a most remarkable Seer, of whom I had many stories, from very good authors, of his prophetic talent: I will only mention one, which may serve as a sample of all the rest, and was delivered to me by Ensign MacLeod, who, as he was travelling home under night, accompanied by the Sergeant, this Seer, on the sudden, desired him to keep to a side, as there was a throng gathering of people coming on the direct path of the road, carrying a corpse on a litter. The ensign having told him he had no faith in such discoveries, the Seer replied, The vision in a short time would be

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fulfilled, and that the ensign himself would be one of the company; and then named severals from the neighbouring countries, distinguishing them by their names, arms, and clothing, who were to assist at the interment; and pointed at particular passes, where such and such men were to relieve those who carried the bier. In some short time thereafter, a gentlewoman that was sister to the ensign, departed this life, at Myle in Glenmore: all the persons foretold, were called and assisted at the interment, without the least variation from the scene, as above described, from the declarant's observation, who took notice of the particular circumstances communicated to him by the seer. And if any of the curious should wish for more instances of his predictions, he may apply to the Reverend Mr. Donald MacLeod, minister of Glenelg, who may furnish him with severals, as he has a throng collection of surprising narrations, delivered him by the serjeant.

I cannot here omit to observe, before I go further, that these visions which are often fancied to be seen at night, though the figures represented should be material, and that the moon should shine in her full splendour, (which often is not the case,) it would be impossible for the strongest eye, with the utmost attention, exactly to distinguish colours, differences of faces, and other circumstances, in their respective attitudes: and consequently, these scenes so minutely corresponding as they are foretold, must be communicate, not to the sight, but to the imagination, as is already observed. I know it is, and will be objected by many, how seers can fully and minutely describe those representations, that are exhibited to them in the Second Sight, unless seen by the organ of the eye? But I beg leave to observe, that this very objection corroborates my opinion, that they see it only in imagination: for, will any one say, when a person is in a dream, that those objects which are represented to his eyes, or heard by his ears, are farther real than in imagination? And yet, when he awakes, he can describe them as exactly as if they were real. Now, if the Second Sight and dreams, according to their impression upon, or representation exhibited to the imagination, had their full completion, agreeable to all circumstances prefigured in the said instances; it plainly follows, that this vision, representation, or whatever name you please to give it, is not carried on by enthusiasm, or imposture, nor from a certain levity of mind to appear singular; is not the result of innate principles, nor from any intrinsic quality in matter, which undoubtedly is void of all intelligence, but is communicated from one spirit to another; though we cannot describe (as we know but little of spirits) the manner these notices are given. From the certainty of dreams, Second Sight, and apparitions, follows the plain and natural consequence of the existence of spirits, immateriality and immortality of the soul: a truth that is acknowledged by the most barbarous nations, as well as by the most civilized, and carries its own conviction in every human breast; unless sensual appetites, and rampant lusts sink the man, and make the brute predominant. Under which category we must always consider those adepts in science, that refine themselves into infidelity, are the nuisances of society, and the disgrace of human nature, who bring themselves on the level with the brute beasts that perish. Happy indeed were it for those abandoned profligates, could they succeed in that boasted metamorphosis! The astonishing numbers and gradations of corporeal beings, in the animal life, from the least insect to man, the uppermost of terrestrial creatures, and who seems placed in the middle state, leads us (as by a clew) to be persuaded, that the same gradation arises from man, to the highest rank and order of angels, who, though they are immaterial, yet, as cogitative intelligent beings, can communicate in sleep, or awake to the imagination (from their extensive knowledge,) such truths as are hid, and always must escape the knowledge of organized bodies; which all these instances condescended upon fully evince, to any under the government of reason, or who is not biassed with invincible ill habits, wrong principles, or vitious education. When we look up to the firmament, and behold these glorious bodies in the azure fields of æther, the sun, moon, and stars, with their daily and annual revolutions, in the selfsame order of rotation, should we not rather go into the mythology of some of the ancients, who fancied these stupendous luminaries to be the tabernacles of certain intelligences, which animated these orbs, as the soul doth the body, than become so beastly stupid, as to own no higher principle, either within or without us, than what is only corporeal! You are not to imagine, from the above paragraph, that I approve of the idolatrous errors of the Sabians; but that I think their mistake more pardonable, than to own no higher principle beyond what is material, and liable to dissolution. If one was to view the earth on which we tread, (in which there is not the leaf of a tree, or stone, without inhabitants,) from the highest star visible to us, it would not appear bigger than an atom: and can we imagine those numberless systems that compose the universe, to be void of inhabitants, endued with souls proper to their state and size; and only made for our sakes, that are so inconsiderable a part of the creation!

But now to return to the Second Sight, after so long, but I hope, useful a digression: as these representations, or waking dreams, according to the best inquiry I could make, are communicated (unless it be seldom) but to one person at once; tho' there should be several persons, and even some seers in company, those representations seem rather communicated to the imagination (as said is) than the organ of sight; seeing it is impossible, if made always to the latter, but all persons directing their sight the same way, having their faculty of sight alike perfect, and equally disposed, must see it in common. And, as a further illustration of this particular, give me leave to mention a very remarkable instance, as I had it from Lieutenant Armstrong, a gentleman (by all I ever could learn) tender of his honour, and who, with a liberal education, under the awful influence of religion, and the strictest morals, joins the Christian with the soldier.

LIEUTENANT ARMSTRONG.

He relates, that, in his way to visit MacLeod from Port-ree, as he was crossing the hill Hornievall, above Loun-a-Chlerish, he saw a soldier in the regimentals of his corps, in that bottom; and thereupon inquired of his servant, If he saw him? Who answered, No; tho' they walked together, and looked the same way. The gentleman added, The vision did not disappear at once, but gradually: when he and his servant came down to the bottom, they examined narrowly, if there were any cattle feeding thereabout, yet could meet with none, till they arrived at Dunvegan. From which it is plain, the scene was not *deceptio visus*, to mistake one object for another, but (as said is) exhibited to the imagination. The next day he had account from Port-ree, by express, of his serjeant's death, the day before, about the time he saw him on Loun-a-Chlerish, by a waking dream, which I take to be the best definition of the Second Sight.

Mrs. ANDERSON

relates, that, in spring 1751, as she lay awake in her bed in Kilmuir, (the rest of the family being all asleep), she heard a great noise behind the partition of deals that was close to her bed-head; she imagined that part of the wall of the house had fallen, called to her son to get up, and to go out to see if the wall was fallen; which he declining, she, in a few minutes, went out, viewed the wall which stood firm, and so disappointed her expectation. Same night Florence Beaton, her servant-maid, dreamed, that Donald MacCaskill, present beadle, their door-neighbour, carried a large white mutton into his own house, and hung it up. About sunrise that morning, John MacLeod of Drynoch, and his servant, coming from Dunvegan, went by the end of the house, and about the sixth part of an English mile in the sight of the houses, the servant shot himself accidentally with his master's fusee; his corpse was carried by Donald MacCaskill and others, into his own house: the gun and wallet he carried, were laid at the partition in Mrs. Anderson's, and the dale where she heard most of the noise, was taken down, and the corpse laid thereon; thus both the noise and dream, had their completion in three or four hours.

Such ghostly visitants from the invisible regions, are not employed on an errand of a frivolous concern, to lead us into error; but are employed as so many heralds by the Great Creator, for the more ample manifestation of his power, to proclaim tidings for our instruction; and as we are prone to despond in religious matters, to confirm our faith of the existence of spirits, (the foundation of all religions,) and the dignity of human nature, beyond all other terrestrial creatures that are incapable to receive those notices or impressions, and which cannot be communicated or understood by any power, but what is merely spiritual; whatever a few philosophers, and irreligious persons, worse than they, have, without any proof, delivered to the contrary.

Are not spirits capable of mutual intelligence, unless immersed in bodies? Must superior nature depend on inferior for the main privileges of sociable beings, which is that of conversing with each other? What would they have done had matter never been created? I suppose not have lived in eternal solitude; for as incorporeal substances are of a nobler order, so, no doubt, their manner of intercourse is more expedite and intimate. This method of communication called intellectual vision, is somewhat analogous to the sense of seeing, which is the medium of our acquaintance with this visible world. Spiritual language is more clearly expressive of the mind and thoughts, than words, writing, or any other external sign can be: the greatest masters of languages do often cloud their meaning, for want of words fit and full enough to express it. Truth often suffers by the poverty and ambiguity of words; but intellectual visions make objects plain in their just proportion, and pours such a flood of knowledge upon the soul, as neither Tully nor Demosthenes could express, with the loftiest strains of their eloquence. Our belief or disbelief of a thing, does not alter the nature of the thing: we cannot fancy things into being, or make them vanish into nothing, by indulging our lusts, or the stubborn confidence of our imagination: things will be what they are after we think of them.

And if there be spirits, as reason, evidence, and the consent of the generality of mankind plainly discover; and which is still further enforced and supported by the indelible impression rivetted on the mind of man; no person by an obstinate disbelief can make spirits cease to exist, no more than by much poring he can reduce himself to nothing.

It will not seem strange, that deists and free-thinkers, who deny all revelation, should at the same time declare their reluctance to believe apparitions, and to raise what dust they can to cloud and discredit it; as they are sensible their yielding this point, would be urged against them with great propriety, to overthrow their false system of faith; but it is much more surprising, and indeed lamentable, that Christians, who profess to believe the Sacred Oracles as they are handed down to us in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, should discover any scruple to admit the truth of apparitions; which so powerfully prompt and enforce the important belief of revelation: yet after all they can say, what does their opinion amount to in point of argument? If a few singular and extravagant persons are extremely confident, that a thing does not exist, is that a proof against experience, that it does really exist? Such as have this unhappy cast of mind, will please read over, Gen. xvi. from verse 17. to the end. Gen. xviii. from the beginning to the end. Gen. xix. 1. 18. Gen. xxi. 17. Gen. xxii. 11. Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. Exod. iii. 1, 2. Matth. i. 20. Luke i. 11. and 28. Luke ii. 8. 18. and same chapter, verse 26. particularly Joel ii. 28. "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." Ver. 29. "And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days, will I pour out my spirit." Acts ii. 17. "And it shall come to pass in the last days (saith God), I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams. Ver. 18. And on my servants, and on my hand-maidens I will pour out in those days of my spirit, and they shall prophesy." These, of many that might be added from the word of God, I presume, is sufficient to confirm those Christians, who find themselves squeamish to believe apparitions.

Give me leave in the next place, to bring some instances from profane history, which are equally authentic as any other part of history; or that there were such men as Julius Cæsar and Alexander the Great. Mention is made already in this treatise of the apparition to Brutus, with some others from the Roman History; but as Buchanan and Lindsay of Pitscottie, our own countrymen, who wrote more near our own times, are only mentioned in the general, I presume the reader will excuse me to descend to particulars; especially as some might want the opportunity to read these authors, or may have run over them without due attention.

BUCHANAN.

"This denunciation of war, brought into Scotland, as the king was going to his army at Linlithgow, whilst he was at vespers in the church, there entered an old man, the hair of his head red, inclining to yellow; and hanging down to his shoulders; his forehead sleek through baldness; he was bare headed, in a long coat of a russet colour, girt with a linen girdle about his loins: in the rest of his aspect he was very venerable. He pressed through the crowd to come at the king; when he came at him he leaned upon the chair on which the king sat, and bespoke him thus: 'O king, I am sent to warn thee not to proceed in thy intended design, which monition if thou neglect, neither thou nor thy followers shall prosper: I am also commanded to tell thee, that thou should not use the familiarity, intimacy, or council of woman; which if thou doest, it will redound to thy ignominy and loss!' Having thus spoke, he withdrew into the crowd; and when the king inquired for him after prayers were ended, he could not be found; which matter seemed the more strange, because none of those who stood next (though desirous to ask many questions of him) were sensible how he disappeared. Among those there was David Lindsay of the Mount, a man of approved worth and honesty, and a great scholar, who in the whole course of his life abhorred lying: and if I had not received the story from him as a certain truth, I had omitted it as a romance of the vulgar." Buchanan's History, folio, page 21, of King James IV.'s reign.

"KING JAMES V.

dreamed, that James Hamilton, (who was executed for high treason) was running at him with his drawn sword; and that first he cut off his right arm, then his left, and threatened shortly to come and take away his life; and then disappeared. When the king awoke in a fright; and pondering about the event of his dream, word was brought him, that both his sons departed this life, almost at one and the same time." Buchanan in the Life of King James V. page 69, folio.

JAMES LUNDEN.

"In the reign of King Henry Stuart, there were two prodigies at that time accompanying the king's murder. One of them a little preceded the regicide, and was thus: one James Lunden, a Fife gentleman, having been long sick of a fever, about noon-day, before the king was killed, lifted himself a little out of his bed, as if he had been astonished; cried out to those that stood by him, with a loud voice, 'Go help the king, for the parricides were just now murdering him:' and a while after, he called out with a mournful tone, 'Now it is too late to help, for he is already slain.' And he himself lived not long after he had uttered these words."

DUGALD STUART.

"The other did accompany the murder itself. Three of the familiar friends of the earl of Athole, the king's cousin, men of reputation for valour and estate, had lodgings not far from the king's. When they were asleep, about midnight, there was a certain man, seemed to come to Dugald Stuart, who lay next the wall, and to draw his hand gently over his beard and cheek, so as to awake him, saying, arise, they are offering violence to us. He presently awaked, and pondering upon the apparition with himself, another of them cried out presently, (in the same bed,) who kicks me? Dugald Stuart answered, perhaps it is a cat. When the third (who was not as yet awake) rose on the sudden out of his bed, and was going to run away; demanding, who it was that gave him a box on the ear? As soon as he had spoke this, one seemed to slip out of the house by the door, attended with some noise. While they were descanting on what they had heard, felt, and seen; the noise of the king's house that was blown up, put them into great confusion." Buchanan, in the reign of Mary and Henry Stuart, page 191, folio.

" PITSCOTTIE,

" in the reign of the James's, relates, that there lived at Glasgow, one Bishop Cameron, who was not only a most flagitious person himself, but had encouraged, by his council and example, the court then to live in all manner of vice and luxury. Upon a night after he had gone to bed, a loud clap of thunder came on, immediately followed by a voice, charging him to appear directly before God's tribunal, to be tried for his crimes, which so startled him, that he cried on his attendants to light a candle; which being done, he sat up in his bed, and began to read on a book; when the second clap of thunder was heard by all of them, and as it ceased, the voice repeated the former words; which being over, the thunder and the same words were heard distinctly the third time: and as they ceased, the bishop dropped dead in his bed, his tongue hanging out of his mouth, as if he had been strangled."

The same PITSCOTTIE mentions, " the apparitions at nights, with heralds in their livery, and sounding trumpets on the cross of Edinburgh, summoning a great many of all ranks, to appear against a certain day, at Cock-plot; the person who saw this vision, hearing himself named among others, protested in his own name against the diet; appealing to God's righteous tribunal: the consequence of which was, that all who were summoned, followed the king to that fatal battle in England, where he and all named in the summons were slain, except the person who entered his protest and appeal."

DR. DODDRIDGE

relates, "in the life of Colonel Gardner, killed at the battle of Preston in the year 1745, that being a young man on his travels at Paris, and leading a life of pleasure, he had got an assignation from a lady to come to her at night; and being in his own lodging, with great impatience waiting the appointed hour, and looking over some book, to pass the tedious moments, as he took up his head from the book, saw an apparition, which struck him with such compunction of mind for his loose course of life, that he not only absented from the assignation, but lived thereafter according to the rules of piety, and the strictest of morals."

JOHN HEIDEN

relates, "that Cardinal Crescentius, the Pope's legate and vicegerent, at the council of Trent, in 1522, having for a whole day laboured to restore the worship of the church of Rome, to the utmost extent of their tenets, and having been busied that day, writing an account of their proceedings to his constituent; in the evening, as he intended to relax his mind, and refresh himself, at his first rising from his seat, there appeared to him a mighty black dog, of a huge bigness, his eyes flaming with fire, and his ears hanging low, nigh to the ground, to enter in, and straight to come towards him, and couch under the board: the cardinal not a little amazed, but recovering himself, calls to his servants, in the outer room, to bring a candle, and seek for the dog; but all in vain. Upon which he was struck with a sudden sickness, of which he soon died, notwithstanding all his physicians could do to recover him." Ex. Sleid. lib. 23.

How men are assured concerning divine revelation made to them, is not so easy to make out to others; yet these two things we are sure of, 1st, that God can work in the mind of man, either immediately from himself, or by a minister of his holy will, a firm persuasion of the truth of what he reveals. This no man can doubt of, that considers the irresistible power and influence, which God, who made us, and perfectly knows our frame, must needs have on our mind and understanding. 2d, That God never offers any thing to any man's belief, that plainly contradicts the natural and essential notions of his mind; because, this would be for God to destroy his own workmanship, and to impose that upon the understanding of a man, which, whilst it remains what it is, it cannot possibly admit. For instance, we cannot imagine, that God should reveal to any man any thing that plainly contradicts the essential perfections of the divine nature: for such a revelation can no more be supposed to be from God, than a revelation from God that there is no God; which is a downright contradiction. Now to apply this to the revelation that God is pleased to make by Second Sight, dreams, and apparitions; as there is nothing in these communications repugnant to, but what is altogether consistent with the Divine nature and attributes: what colourable reason, or excuse, can even infidelity itself frame to overthrow the credit of those predictions, that are minutely accomplished and justified by the event? When such amazing exertions of Divine power are so frequently repeated to the poor, simple, and illiterate, as well as to the great, the rich, and the learned, to keep them in mind of their duty and mortality, by awful tokens of a spiritual nature; what powerful motive is this, to draw and excite our attention and gratitude? What high obligations, such manifest displays of infinite goodness, leave us under to admire and adore the ever blessed Deity, who is so careful to awaken and preserve us from a relapse into our former errors? Seeing then, in the foregoing collection, instances are condescended upon from the dead, to confirm our faith in a future state, as well as many more to the same purpose, from dreams in sleep, (which resembles death, as it deprives us of any informations by the avenues of our bodily senses;) and that besides, we are presented with a much thronger number of instances of the Second Sight, from persons that have been awake, at night and in broad day-light. What greater assurance can we expect or desire of these facts, than the authority and testimony of persons every way credible? We have sufficient evidence (if we would give due attention) of the truth of these things: we have the dictates of our reason argueing us into this persuasion, from the consideration of the justice of the Divine Providence, and from the promiscuous and unequal administration of things in this world. From whence wise men in all ages have been apt to conclude, that there will be another state of things after this life, wherein rewards and punishments will be equally distributed: and to assure us that these things are certain, we have most credible revelations from sacred and profane history, continued even to our own times, from numberless instances, which we have no room to deny, unless wilfully we turn sceptical, or are beyond measure unreasonably obstinate. Having thus far insisted on revelation, a subject of the highest importance, it will be needless to bring instances from Holy Writ, in support of a truth so generally acknowledged, as every one may have access to read them at more length in their bibles: yet the reader will permit me to give him two, to which I confine myself in this place; the first from Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, page 65 and 66, lib. 4, and the second from authentic tradition, which happened in our own time.

"ST. POLYCARP,

"bishop of Smyrna, a man eminent for his great piety, learning, and sanctity of manners, when the persecution growing hot at Smyrna, the general cry was, away with the impious; let Polycarp be sought for. The good man, unmoved at the news, resolved to endure the brunt, until his friends, knowing his importance and usefulness to the church, prevailed with him to turn aside to a neighbouring village, where, with a few companions, he continued day and night in prayer, earnestly interceding with Heaven for the peace and tranquillity of all the churches in the world: three days before he was seized by those employed to hunt for him, falling in a trance at night, as he was at prayer, he dreamed, that his pillow was on fire, and was burnt to ashes, which, when he awakened, he told his friends, and was a prophetic presage that he should be burnt alive for the testimony of Christ: in the mean while his friends prevailed further with him, to retire to another village, where he was found out by the hunters, whom he might have avoided, but did not choose it, saying, the Lord's will be done. He was immediately conducted into the city, at the command of Herod the Irenarcha, or justice of the peace in that district, who was his mortal enemy. Being led to the place of execution, a voice was heard from heaven by many, saying, Polycarp, be strong, and quit thyself like a man. Being brought before the public tribunal, where the proconsul having asked, if he was Polycarp, answered in the affirmative; and, though several deaths and tortures were named, it was agreed at length he should be burnt; towards which the apparatus being prepared, he was tied to a stake, but, at his own desire, not nailed; for he said, he was endued with courage enough to abide the fire without nailing. When the pile was lighted, the flames, how violent soever, in a most marvellous manner, formed themselves in an arch, so as they did not touch or affect the body of the dying martyr; which the cruel unrelenting persecutors observing, ordered one present to despatch him with a sword, who having thrust him in the side, such abundance of blood issued from the wound, as extinguished the fire." Those who are curious to have this mournful theme at more length, will find it, in all its circumstances, in Dr. Cave's lives of the primitive fathers, from page 18th, to page 23d, folio edition.

Mr. JOHN CUNNISON.

About forty years ago, one Mr. Alexander Cunnison, Minister of the gospel on the island of Mull, being visited late at night by a neighbouring gentleman, who was followed by a large greyhound, they took supper; but after they had gone to bed, the greyhound quarrelled with the house-cat, and soon despatched it; he then attacked a maid-servant, who giving the cry, the minister came to rescue her, but unfortunately was wounded in several parts in the fray; which his wife observing, both she and her sister, (a young maid in the house,) came to the minister's assistance, and, in the scuffle, received wounds, having, with much ado, turned out the mad dog: he entered a cottage or two hard by, where he destroyed three persons: all that he had bit died in the greatest disorder; only Mr. Cunnison caused himself to be bled to death. Mr. John Cunnison his father, being also a minister, and living in Kintyre, had a revelation of the above melancholy scene, and told his wife and all the family, that, upon that very night, his son, with his wife and severals of his family, had suffered a violent death, exhorting his spouse to patience, and a resignation to the will of God, that she might be prepared to receive those tidings, which ere long would spread, and come to her ears from all quarters. One Duncan Campbell, (who lived a door neighbour to my informer for two years,) declared to him frequently, that he lived with Mr. John Cunnison, a servant at the time, and was in the house the same night when he told the whole family (and himself among the rest) the tragical end of his son and others that suffered on the same occasion.

One would think it scarce possible, that a deist or free-thinker, who peruseth these instances, with others of the same stamp, (of which the Jewish, Christian, and Heathen history are full,) should be able to impose on themselves so much as to deny the truth of apparitions; but it is to be feared, while any remain of the species, one or other (without the immediate interposition of Providence) will be so governed by prejudice and rampant lusts, as to fly in the face of the most glaring evidence. It is very remarkable, and claims our utmost attention, that those intimations we receive in dreams, and by the Second Sight, or apparitions, are chiefly employed to forewarn us of the approaching end of some relations, neighbours, or acquaintances. That it is appointed for all men to die, is a truth seen and felt universally, from the experience of mankind, three only excepted; yet those who are plunged in sensuality, are apt to forget that, like any other plant,

> "They are fixed to their peculiar spot,
> To draw nutrition, propagate, and rot." POPE.

And therefore stand in need, to be frequently put in mind of their mortality, to dispose them to make due preparation, during their pilgrimage here, for an after state, by avoiding what is sinful, and exerting all their power in charity, and acts of benevolence.

> "Seeing then, the first moment of our breath,
> We receive the lurking principles of death." POPE.

Let us not be dazzled or intoxicated with the deceitful pleasures of this brittle life, which are so much palled in the enjoyment, and often blended with so many unforeseen disappointments, as spoil any relish they can afford; and were it not for the hope that God hath graciously implanted in our souls, of more sincere and unadulterated joys in the heavenly mansions, the state of a sow or an ass would be more eligible than the condition of man, though lord of this inferior world.

EVANDER MACMHAOLDONICH.

Mary Campbell, a woman of acknowledged probity and candour, relates, that, when she was a young girl, living in her father's house, upon the island of Scalpa, there was a notable old Seer, one Evander MacMhaoldonich, a domestic in the family, who, by the Second Sight, foretold several events which punctually came to pass; and, in particular, that Kenneth Campbell her brother, being on a jaunt in the Lewes, and as he was returning home, accompanied by his servant, whom he had sent upon an errand to a village at some distance, as the said Kenneth was solitarily coming on his way, he found himself seized with a faintishness, which so gained upon him, that he was obliged to crawl on all fours, through mires and puddles, to a desolate cottage, where he remained that night, and, after a sound sleep, recovered of his ailment. The old Seer that night seemed frettish; and being asked the reason of his being so much out of humour, told, that the said Kenneth Campbell was not at his ease, and that he observed him, by the Second Sight, in a very distressed condition, his clothes being suddled, and all bespattered with filth and mud; which, upon his return to the family next day, he himself declared to have been literally true, according to the above prediction.

The said Mary further relates, that one Donald M'Instalcare, another notable Seer, often before the event happened, was frequently alarming the people of the family, that murder or manslaughter was soon to happen therein; and some short time thereafter, a boy that was servant to Lauchlan MacLean, a son-in-law in the family, and then in the house, having his master's pistol in his hand, diverting himself, by opening and shutting the pan; which the old Seer observing, gave him a short reprimand, and in an angry manner, desired him to lay the pistol aside; which the boy despising, and still continuing his puerile diversion, the pistol being load, the shot went off, and killed a young girl that lay in a bed in the room; by which the Second Sight above narrated, was too literally accomplished.

Another instance related by the said gentlewoman, of the foresaid Evander, is, that her mother observing him discomposed, as usual with him when he had a Second Sight, demanded what troubled him at that time: upon which he told, that he was greatly surprised at what he had seen, not only then, but often before, viz. The bust of a man, or a body without a head, carried to the house, particularizing its apparel, being a jacket with white buttons, which, as it entered at the door, seemed to fall in a part close by it, and then vanished from his sight. Thereafter, the gentlewoman's son, strolling through the island, found a body on the shore, as before described, and returning home, ordered the servants to carry it to a fit place of interment; accordingly they went, taking with them some spokes from the back of the door where the body seemed to fall, which they employed to carry the body to the grave.

DONALD MACLEOD.

A young girl was contracted to a gentleman in the Lewes, equal to her in birth and other circumstances; yet a Seer that lived about the family, frequently told her, she should never be married to that man; and even upon the night when the Parson who came on the place to join their hands, the bride and bridegroom being completely dressed, and ready waiting to fulfill the ceremony, the Seer persisted in what he had so often asserted. In the mean time, the bride having stepped out of the room after night fell, she was met with by a gentleman, at the head of twelve persons, who carried her to a boat hard by, and, conducting her to an island at some distance from the continent, waited there until they were married, and the Seer's prediction fulfilled. I had this story told me by a gentleman, one Donald MacLeod, lineally descended of the MacLeods of Lewes, a family now extinct, but once a great, ancient, and flourishing family, descended from the Norwegian kings, who possessed the isle of Man, and the western Hybrides for several centuries.

LAUCHLAN MACKINNON

of Corrichatachan, a person of known candour, and unblemished morals, informed me, that, on a certain night he dreamed, that he was at Missinish in Mull, and observed that country had a more agreeable aspect than usual; and that as he advanced to the mansion-house, he was met and coldly received by the landlord, who having invited him in, they turned into an apartment, in which there was a standing bed, where the landlord all on the sudden, tumbled, stretched himself at his full length and lay on his back; and that immediately thereafter, the deceased Mr. Alexander Nicolson of the Episcopal Clergy, appeared, and seemed to whisper Missinish something in his ear, and then went out of the room. He told this dream in the morning to his spouse, and within a few days, as they were sitting down to dinner, a courier presented him with a packet of letters, sealed with black wax; upon which he retired, and having opened the letters, found Missinish departed this life the very night he had the above dream; and, having gone to the interment, on his arrival, and entering the house, found the corpse laid in that bed and room, he had dreamed of but a few days before.

I was credibly informed, on a late jaunt to Glenelg, that the nick-named serjeant, famous for the Second Sight, and so often mentioned in the course of this collection, saw himself oft times cloathed in a red coat; discovered the same to some intimates; and that Lieutenant Donald MacLeod, finding him an idler, easily listed him for a recruit in 1759; which he complied with, probably more from a divine impulse, than any inclination to a military kind of life, to which his age and tender constitution seemed but ill to agree.

JOHN WRIGHT,

a young man, who lived at Ligesdale in Morvern, travelling to Strontian, on a Sunday morning, about the middle of April, 1738, saw a pillar of fire ascending out of Joseph Bell's chimney, (grieve-master of the lead-mines,) moving slowly in the air, and directing its course until it fell on the deck of a ship within pistol-shot of him: and that the same evening, three young women, from Mr. Bell's house, and eleven more persons went a-pleasuring to said ship; where having diverted themselves for some time, they all set out for land in the ship's yoal; when one Samuel Macleod, who was hindmost of their company, spying the yoal setting off from the ship's side, made a leap, and lighting on the gunnel of the yoal, overset her all at once, so that the whole of their number, being sixteen including two of the ship's crew, dropped into the sea, and two girls were drowned, one of which was daughter of said Mr. Bell. By which it appears, the said pillar of fire portended her fatal and untimeous end. And it is very observable on this occasion, before this drowning happened, cries, noise, and lamentation, were heard at sundry times, by severals about that shore, which was no more heard after the above melancholy accident.

LORD BRUCE.

The unfortunate Lord Bruce, saw distinctly the figure or impression of a mort head, on the looking-glass in his chamber, that very morning he set out for the fatal place of rendesvouze, where he lost his life in a duel; and asked of some that stood by him, if they observed that strange appearance? Which they answered in the negative. His remains were interred at Bergen-op-Zoom, over which a monument was erected, with the emblem of a looking-glass impressed with a mort head, to perpetuate the surprising representation which seemed to indicate his approaching untimely end. I had this narration from a field-officer, whose honour and candour is beyond suspicion, as he had it himself from General Stuart in the Dutch service. The monument stood entire for a long time, until it was partly defaced, when that strong place was reduced by the weakness or treachery of Cronstrom the governor.

Mr. JAMES GRANT,

present schoolmaster at Glenelg, a modest young man, who studies divinity to qualify himself for the ministry, informed me, that he was intimately acquainted with a young man of fifteen years of age or thereby, living in Banffshire, who frequently had the Second Sight, in broad day-light; and that upon a day as they walked together in the fields, his companion asked him, if he saw a company at some distance, carrying a corpse on a bier, on a path that leads to a church-yard? which, tho' the declarant looked never so much that way, he could not perceive. But the next day, in conjunction with the Seer, he saw really a gathering of men, carrying a corpse that way to be interred; and moreover declares, the same young man had often seen visions of that kind, which were punctually accomplished.

From which, and numbers of instances in other parts far and near, it appears, that this kind of intelligence, is not confined to the western islands of Scotland, or continent adjacent, but prevails in every kingdom, and indeed more or less, tho' in different ways, throughout every part of the known world, in all ages, so far as my scrutiny could reach. I had lately sent me a posthumous pamphlet on the Second Sight, writ by Mr. John Fraser, dean of the western islands, and minister of Tiree and Coll, who, according to Mr. Simson, the editor, and what I heard from old men, his contemporaries, was a person of sound, unblemished morals; was punctual in his duty as a minister; and was possest of good insight in theology, and other parts of useful learning: He seemed strongly to believe the doctrine of the Second Sight, from the diligent careful inquiry he made in many instances among his own parishioners; besides what he had told him by a learned gentleman (as he calls him), a native of the island of Man. But whether or not he intended to publish his short memoirs, is not so certain, as that he confined himself to five authentic instances; which I thought fit to give the reader in his own words, as follows.

"The first instance is by a servant of my own, who had the trust of my barn, and nightly lay in the same: one day he told me, he would not any longer lye there, because nightly he had seen a dead corpse in his winding sheet, straighted beside him, particularly at the south-side of the barn. About an half a year thereafter, a young man that had formerly been my servant, fell dangerously sick, and expecting death, would needs be carried near my house, and shortly thereafter he died, and was laid up a night before he was buried, in the same individual barn and place that was foretold; and immediately the servant that foretold this, came to me, and minded me of the prediction, which was clearly out of my mind till he spoke of it."

"The second instance is after this manner; I was resolved to pay a visit to an English gentleman, Sir William Sacheverel, who had a commission from the English court of Admiralty, to give his best trial to find out gold or money, or any other thing of note, in one of the ships of the Spanish Armada, that was blown up in the Bay of Topper-mory, in the sound of Mull; and having condescended upon the number of men that were to go with me, one of the number was a handsome boy that waited upon my own person, and about an hour before I made sail, a woman that was also one of my own servants, spoke to one of the seamen, and bade him dissuade me to take that boy along with me, or if I did, I should not bring him back alive; the seaman answered, he had not confidence to tell me such unwarrantable trifles; I took my voyage, and sailed the length of Topper-mory, and having staid two or three nights with that literate and ingenious gentleman, who himself had collected many observations of the Second Sight in the isle of Man, and compared his notes and mine together; in end, I took leave of him. In the mean time my boy grew sick of a vehement bloody flux; the winds turned cross, that I could neither sail nor row; the boy died with me the eleventh night from his decumbiture; the next morning the wind made fair, and the seaman, to whom the matter was foretold, related the whole story when he saw it verified. I carried the boy's corpse aboard with me, and, after my arrival and his burial, I called suddenly for the woman, and asked at her, what warrant she had to foretell the boy's death? She said, that she had no other warrant, but that she saw, two days before I took my voyage, the boy walking with me in the fields, sewed up in his winding sheets, from top to toe; and that she had never seen this in others, but she found that they shortly thereafter died; and therefore concluded, that he would die too, and that shortly. In the isle of Man, the inhabitants, under night, before burials, see lights, or a number of candles moving from ships that are at anchor on the coast, or from houses in their cities, to the churchyards, which is a forerunner of interment the next day. I had this account from a modest person that was on the island when some of these amazing scenes were observed."

DUNCAN CAMPBELL.

"The third instance was thus; Duncan Campbell, brother-german to Archibald Campbell of Invera, a gentleman of singular piety and considerable knowledge, especially in divinity, told me a strange thing of himself; that he was at a time in Kintyre, (having then some employment there,) and, one morning walking in the fields, he saw a dozen of men carrying a bier, and knew them all but one; and when he looked again, all was evanished. The very next day, the same company came the same way carrying a bier, and he going to meet them, found that they were but eleven in number, and that he himself was the twelfth, though he did not notice it before; and, it is to be observed, that this gentleman never saw any thing of this kind before or after, till his dying day: moreover, that he was of such solid judgment and devout conversation, that his report deserves an unquestionable credit."

JOHN MACDONALD.

"The fourth instance I had, to my great grief, from one John Macdonald, a servant of Lauchlan MacLean of Coll, who was then newly returned from Holland, having the charge of a captain. This gentleman came one afternoon abroad to his pastime in the fields, and this John MacDonald meets him, and seeth his clothes shining like the skins of fishes, and his periwig all wet, though indeed the day was very fair; whereupon he told privately, even then, to one of Coll's gentlemen, that he feared he should be drowned: this gentleman was Charles MacLean, who gave me account of it. The event followed about a year thereafter; for the Laird of Coll was drowned in the water of Lochy in Lochaber. I examined both Charles MacLean and John MacDonald, and found that the prediction was as he told me; and the said John MacDonald could produce no other warrant, than that he found such signs frequently before, to forego the like events. This man, indeed, was known to have many visions of this kind, but he was none of the strictest life.

"The fifth instance is strange, and yet of certain truth, and known to the whole inhabitants of the island of Eigg, lying in the latitude of 56 *d.* 20 *m.* north; longitude 14 degrees. There was a tenant in this island, that was a native, a follower of the Captain of Clanranald, that lived in a town called Killdonan, in the year of God, 1685, who told publicly to the whole inhabitants, upon the Lord's day, after divine service, by Father O'Rain, then priest of that place, that they should all flit out of that isle, and plant themselves somewhere else, because that people of strange and different habits and arms were to come to the isle, and to use all acts of hostility, as killing, burning, tirling, and deforcing of women; finally, to discharge all that the hands of an enemy could do, but what they were, or whence they came, he could not tell. At the first there was no regard had to his words, but frequently thereafter he begged of them to notice what he said, otherwise they should repent it when they could not help it, which took such an impression upon some of his near acquaintance, as that severals of them transported themselves and their families, even then, some to the isle of Cannay, some to the isle of Rum, fourteen days before the enemy came thither, under the command of one Major Ferguson and Captain Pottinger, whilst there was no word of their coming, or any fear of them conceived. In the month of June, 1689, this man fell sick, and Father O'Rein came to see him, in order to give him the benefit of absolution and extreme unction, attended with several inhabitants of the isle, who, in the first place, narrowly questioned him before his friends, and begged of him to recant his former folly, and his vain prediction; to whom he answered, that they should find very shortly the truth of what he had spoken, and so he died. And within fourteen or fifteen days thereafter, I was eye-witness (being then a prisoner with Captain Pottinger) to the truth of what he did foretell; and being before-hand well instructed of all that he said, I did admire to see it particularly verified; especially that of the different habits and arms, some being clad with red coats, some with white coats and grenadier caps, some armed with sword and pike, and some with sword and musket."

Mr. Simson, the editor of the above pamphlet, his instance. " A Noble Peer of this nation, being one morning in his bed-chamber, and attended by several persons, when his servant had put a new coat upon his lord, a gentleman standing by, presently cried out, for God's sake, my Lord, put off that coat: and being asked the reason? He replied, that he saw a whinger or poniard stick in the breast of it. The Noble Peer, esteeming this as a mere fancy, replied, this coat is honestly come by, and I see no reason why I may not wear it. The gentleman still entreated, and earnestly craved that it might be put off; upon which debate, the Noble Peer's lady, not being far off, came in, and being informed of the whole affair, intreated her Lord to comply with the gentleman's desire, which he did; mean time one of the servants standing by, desired the lady to give it him, and he would wear it; she granted his request; who put it on, and ere night he was stabbed by a poniard, in that very place which the gentleman had pointed to in the morning. This relation I had from a very ingenious and understanding gentleman, who was grandchild to the said Noble Peer."

ROBERT BARCLAY.

The instance given by Robert Barclay of Urie, the author of the Apology for the Quakers, concerning Archbishop Sharp, as the same is delivered by Robert Barclay of Urie his son: "Upon the third of May, 1679, as he was travelling home from Edinburgh in his coach, he was murdered: it being very remarkable, that some few days before the murder, Robert Barclay being upon a journey to the yearly meeting at Edinburgh, in company with his wife's sister, and they being early on horseback, at the East Ferry, as they passed by the kirk, (which belonged to the archbishop,) close by the end of the town, they heard a most terrifying, howling noise which was astonishing; upon which they sent the servant to look into it through the windows, who could then perceive nothing; but no sooner returned to them, than the noise began again, and continued till they rode out of hearing. This account both he and his sister gave immediately after, and she, in my hearing, repeated the same, but a few years ago, to a company visiting her at her own house in Newcastle, consisting of quakers and others, this I mention as matter of fact, without any other reflection."

There is another kind of divination, by looking in the shoulder-blade of a sheep, goat, &c. as in a book, by which some skilful in that occult science, pretend to read future events, such as the death of some remarkable person in a particular tribe or family; foretell general meetings, battles, bloodsheds, &c. and in what quarter of the kingdom or country, they are to happen: and besides will describe what numerate money is to be found in the custody of the owner of the sheep, &c. I had several instances of this kind told me, that were vouched to conviction, which I omit, as it is beyond my present purpose to enlarge further on the subject, but leave it to the curious.

However, as I happened to make mention of it, I presume the reader will forgive me, to deliver my private opinion of this kind of prediction, which, if I mistake not, is another species of the Second Sight, though less frequent, and seems to arise from the same source, being conveyed to the intellect, by a spiritual commerce, with the intelligent principles within us, apparently to enforce, and as a further illustration of the Second Sight, to which it hath so near a resemblance, that by the joint evidence of two concurring witnesses, from the same original, the momentous truth of revelation might be admitted and ascertained.

For, as in the Second Sight, no topic, to our comprehension, (at least to mine,) can be condescended upon from material causes, for the events it foretells; so in this of the shoulder-blade, the same difficulty occurs without the ministry of spiritual agents; but that being allowed, it is easy to see its usefulness, to reject and confute the uncomfortable doctrine of our modern Sadducees. Indeed there are so many tricks, and so much of legerdemain current among the professors of the Romish church, in these pretended miracles and revelations they ascribe to saints and reliques, in support of their absurd doctrine, which they are at a loss how to maintain otherwise from the written word of God; that it is no wonder, it should be a caveat to those of another persuasion, not to be too rash in admitting what is beyond natural powers, as it might afford a handle to those patrons of a *Pia Fraus*, to pass their impostures on others, as well as those within their own communion; but those methods of divination I have mentioned, are conveyed unto us from men without any such design; persons of all ranks and professions, who have no interest or temptation to invent and propagate ridiculous lies and falsehoods, to impose on the credulity of mankind; and therefore we owe in charity, to a number of Seers whose predictions have exactly tallied with circumstances of time and place, to believe their declarations to be candid and genuine.

Let us not, therefore, persevere in the mad folly of infidelity, repugnant to admitted principles, and the sense of all learned and good men that ever appeared in the world; but, with due reverence, resign ourselves to the great Author of our beings, and endeavour to gain his favour, by the purity of our lives, and a thankful acknowledgment of the obligations he has laid on us, beyond all other terrestrial creatures. This surely should be our conduct, as we must know ourselves to be men, limited, accountable, and dependent beings. The professed freethinker and libertine must acknowledge the truth of this conclusion, unless he take in his head to maintain, that, because wrong principles are often entertained and built upon, there are in nature no right principles; because error frequently prevails, there is no truth; because art and fallacy with some, pass for solid reasoning, there is no such thing as right reasoning; or, because there are cases in which men act on hasty conclusions, they allow to these the influence that is only due to deliberate and just reflection. When a person arrives at the height of this distempered mind, he is altogether unfit to be argued with, as he sets out with invincible prejudice, and is prepared to stifle and reject the plainest evidence, to swallow and make room for the most shocking absurdities.

The immortality of the soul, is a truth that has been, and will be acknowledged by all modest and judicious persons, in which the most savage nations agree, and is only denied by a few, who, believing themselves beyond all others arrived at the pinnacle of knowledge and wisdom, are, as a just judgment of their daring impiety, sunk into the lowest class of fools and idiots. Had deists, atheists, libertines, or even any of their hopeful family, who deny the immortality of the soul, at any time demonstrated, that a scene such as is instanced above, may arise, and have its completion from other causes, different from an intercourse betwixt spirits; he must be excused to scatter the infection of his impious principles though confessedly detrimental to individuals, and the whole race of mankind: but as no age has furnished a person so qualified, that could give any credible or tolerable account, how dreams and apparitions are fulfilled in manner and substance, as they are prefigured, without the ministry of spirits; methinks it is the height of folly to embrace new dangerous speculations, how much soever set off with all the advantage of learning and language, when they make us rather worse than better, seeing that the poison they contain, though delicate, operates so strongly as to shut our eyes against all evidence, and our interest, temporal and eternal.

It concerns every man, that would not trifle away his soul, and fool himself into irrecoverable misery, with the greatest seriousness, and a mind prepared, to lye open to conviction, to examine and inquire, whether a correspondence is maintained betwixt spirits; or if there is any truth in revelation. All wicked men are of a party against religion and revelation: lust or interest engageth them against it: hence it comes to pass, that they are apt to slight, and overlook the strongest arguments, that are brought to support the credenda, and to cry up very weak ones, that have the least shadow to countenance their infidelity.

What imports us more to be satisfied in, than whether there be a God, or our souls be immortal? If so, whether, in that eternal estate which remains for men after this life, they shall be happy, or miserable for ever, according as they have demeaned themselves in this world? If these things are true, they are of infinite consequence to us, and therefore it highly concerns us to satisfy our minds one way or other about them; and not, as atheistical men do, to be played and jested withal. There is no greater argument of a light and inconsiderate person, than profanely to scoff at religion. To examine severely, and debate seriously, the principles of religion, and the truth of revelation is worthy of a wise man; but, to turn it into raillery, and to think to confute it by two or three bold jokes, this man doth not render religion or revelation, but himself, ridiculous.

When a person, such as has been mentioned, who has a revelation in sleep, or awake, particularly and expressly declared the event that he supposed to be represented, in a scene exhibited before the event happened, or could possibly be foreseen by human sagacity and penetration; the truth of that revelation stands firm, and is justified by its accomplishment: and, at the same time, it most powerfully confirms the existence and agency of spirits; and, seeing we receive, in this life, many informations from visions, dreams, sounds, and apparitions, that are certain and unquestionable, we have no room to doubt, but the soul released from the body (to which she is so intimately united) will then be incomparably better enabled to exert itself, and to acquire a more consummate knowledge of what in the flesh she could not see but very obscurely, and so continue (for ought we know) to improve and advance in all science competent to creatures of our rank, to all eternity. Thus we see God has not, at any time, or in any country, left himself without a witness; but has, in every age, and in all places, for wise ends, illuminated some of all ranks, to confound and humble the pride of those conceited persons, who will admit of no truth but what agrees with demonstration; whereas, they embrace the greatest absurdities, without any evidence, but what arises from a poor ridiculous begging of the question.

Could we with Newton's piercing sagacity, pry into the most extensive survey of the number, use, and regularity of those stupendous systems above; even then our apprehensions, (as Mr. Harvey observes,) would be little better than those dim images, which the mole come above ground, receives on her feeble sight. To scan universal nature, and penetrate into her inmost recesses, with a critical exactness, is beyond our sphere, and is an attempt that will bring the acutest Philosopher almost on a level with the unlearned! Since to dive into the essence of things, would be impossible and impracticable by the one as well as the other.——Let us not therefore be pushed on by infidelity, beyond the length of our tether, to pretend to fathom the depth of nature, unequal to our limited capacities, and which are unattainable while we dwell in these houses of clay; but, rather seek what is obvious to find, easy to be acquired, and of most advantage when possessed. The necessary lines of our duty are few and plain; cannot be disproved by the learned; exceeded, or better accommodated for the benefit of mankind by the most exalted genius; namely, that, in the first place, we love and adore the Supreme Majesty of Heaven, from whom we live, move, and have our beings. And, in the next place, that we do to our fellow creatures as we would have them behave towards ourselves. This is the summary of our duty, in short hand; and if practised, we will find the best means to make us easy and happy in this life, and also give us the best chance of a blessed immortality.

My inference from the Second Sight, dreams, and apparitions, of the existence of spirits, and the immortality of the soul, though obvious, will, I apprehend, be against the creed of our modern freethinkers, who treat that awful truth, in the hours of their mirth and vanity, as the subject of profane mirth and raillery, as phantoms, or the idle dreams of superstitious brains. What madness and extravagance, thus to deride infinite wisdom armed with Almighty Power, laugh at damnation, and recreate a jovial fancy with the most daring impiety! If any libertine think that I have failed, of setting the case in a clear light, to obtain my desired end, I would be obliged to the ablest of their formidable corps, to show, with a greater or equal degree of certainty, from what other source the said topics are suggested: but if any one wantonly rejects so great a cloud of witnesses, without condescending on good reasons for his dissent, he deserves rather to be pitied than argued with; so that he must be left to the wretched delusion of a steeled untractable conscience.

I remember, that, in the conference which gave rise to an inquiry about the Second Sight, it was observed, that it is only seen by mean, silly, illiterate people, which is a stale objection that hath been started by others, who either wanted leisure, (as they thought it of no importance,) or were not willing to give themselves the trouble of a fair examination; but as history, ancient and modern, abound with instances of dreams, visions, and apparitions, exhibited to emperors, kings, princes, generals, and patricians, the great men of Greece and Rome, and that even in this treatise before you, several of the clergy, as well as of all ranks among the laity, are mentioned, whose honour, conscience, and characters exempt them from being suspected to pass a cheat upon mankind, who had these impressions, by which they foretold events that came to pass: give me leave to expect that none will insist further on that objection; and yet, if any that are incredulous and immersed in the bottomless pit of doubt, after running over so many evidences as are before mentioned, should insist to have a categorical answer of the question, to whom, and by whom, future events (no less than the death of the living when in perfect health) are exactly foretold; I take it for generally granted, that the soul of man alone is capable of such information; as to his material vehicle it has no other excellency or pre-eminence, in that respect, beyond the rest of terrestrial creatures, since matter, *ex sua natura*, cannot act but in consequence of its being acted upon, much less is it invested with a divining quality, which would be gross absurdity to assert, and I believe such as the most conceited freethinker would not find it his interest to own or maintain. The second part of the proposition, by whom such notices are given, is easily solved, from the answer made to the first part of the *Query*; that as matter is incapable of free-agency *per se*, that knowledge which the soul of man receives of future events, must be inspired from, and communicated by an intelligent spiritual Being, either immediately from himself, or by appointment of an infinitely bountiful and only wise Creator, for the instruction of mankind, and upholding their faith in a most essential part of their knowledge, that of the immortality of the soul, without which, that of life itself would become a burden, mankind be miserable, and an horse or an ass, void of hope, fear, or any other solicitude, but instinct, would be far more happy in what the earth produces spontaneously, than the greatest monarch on earth, amidst the pomp and splendour of a court, in what luxury can invent. This last opinion may seem better supported, when we consider, since every age has produced practical atheists and libertines, God Almighty, of his good-will and great condescension to mankind, was pleased likewise, coëval with the first dawn of atheism, in every country and age, to distribute the knowledge of future events, thereby to give such ample manifestations of his infinite power, goodness, and wisdom, to those miscreants, who would not open their eyes to read the legible traces of those perfections, plainly exhibited in this visible frame of the creation, as would not only secure themselves and the generality of the race, from the frightful infection of infidelity, but also serve to confound the daring monsters of impiety, who will not part with their sins, even when so many examples from the dead (besides Moses and the Gospel) are brought in evidence against them.

It is no great breach of charity to suppose, that there are still in the world some frantic persons, who, under a veil, conceal their infidelity, question the existence of spirits, and the immortality of the soul; notwithstanding what the sages of antiquity, very eminent divines, and the universal voice of nature have always proclaimed to the contrary: yet should any of these have the will and opportunity to examine, with due attention, and without prejudice, these predictions, exemplified in numberless undeniable instances of the Second Sight, it is, methinks, impossible they can be so blind or stupid, as not to open their eyes, and admit the testimony of so many examples. For, however stiff and tenacious the pretenders to freethinking have been, or resolve to remain, against the reasons and arguments drawn from history, sacred and profane, to prove order and direction manifestly displayed in all the systems that compose the universe; it is scarce credible they would be so hardy and unmanned, as to fly in the face of a current of ancient and modern experience: and although they may raise dust, to cloud the testimony of the illiterate vulgar, yet this can never serve their turn, as they find in this treatise, instances of dreams and the Second Sight, ascertained by numbers to rise in judgment against them.

Having lately perused Mr. Voltaire's letter to the Prince of Prussia, I find him paying his compliments to his royal correspondent, for the favour of sending him a little treatise concerning Mr. Wolfe, whose metaphysics he regards as one of the utmost efforts of human genius; and seemed very fond of another treatise from the same hand, upon the immortality of the soul, and other articles of the highest importance: but, if the celebrated Voltaire, in his retreat, and among his philosophic inquiries, should deign to relax his mind, and cast an eye on this small performance, (which does not appear in the pompous dress of learning, or studied periods,) he would perhaps find it more concise and expressive, to give entire satisfaction about the immortality of the soul, than what he could gather from Wolfe's or any other system of metaphysics: seeing researches, and investigations in that way, are painful, tiresome to the memory, very, very often puts the understanding to a nonplus, and draws on the mind to a bottomless ocean, without shore, without limits; whereas the knowledge we receive from admitted facts of the Second Sight, and dreams, is short, easy and without labour; level to all capacities, and renew in the mind of man what revelation dictates, and all that can be desired to confirm the existence of spirits, and the immortality of the soul. It is indeed matter of just regret to all serious persons, who, under the awful influence of their faith, dare not allow themselves that boasted freedom of thinking, which others of another turn glory in, and are so fond of, that severals who have acquired a distinguishing reputation in sciences and the belles lettres, should aim a stroke at religion, unavowedly, under the odious name of superstition: and treat those they call the ambassadors of the divinity, and the interpreters of his will, in a most scurrilous manner, loading them with the black imputation of intrigues, avarice, and pride. What renders the declamations of those fine gentlemen, who move in another sphere, more liable to suspicion, that they have not the interest of true religion very much at heart, is, that they are silent, or not at leisure to take notice of the unanswerable evidences that support it; either from the visible undeviating course of nature, under the direction of an all-wise and powerful Being; nor from the revelation of his will to mankind: the force and use of which, however they may cavil, they are not able, with the utmost stretch of their refinements, to banish or bring in question.

The manner whereby the soul and body are united, and how they are distinguished, is wholly unaccountable, and a mystery to us; we see but one part, and yet we know we consist of two.

These who preach up the belief of Second Sight or revelation, cannot, by so doing, propose any temporal advantage to themselves. But this is not the case with those who oppose this doctrine: and so we must take the liberty to inquire, do they lead better moral lives than others? are they more just in their dealings; more chaste, temperate or charitable?

Nothing at all of this appears in them; but, on the contrary, their whole intent is to overthrow all religion and revelation, that they may gratify their vices, without any reproach from the world, or a check from their own conscience. It should be considered, that raising difficulties concerning the mysteries of religion and revelation, cannot make them more wise, learned or virtuous, better neighbours or friends, or more serviceable to their king and country; but whatever they pretend, will destroy their inward peace of mind, by perpetual doubts and fears arising in their breasts, which they cannot smother by their own chimerical fancies, nor indeed any other way, than a hearty acquiescence, in faith and practice, to the dictates of natural and revealed religion. Thus you see the matter is brought to this issue, that we must believe what God has been pleased to reveal in scripture, together with our own plain discoveries and observations, or tamely give up our holy religion to atheists, infidels and freethinkers.

And now, by what is lately observed, and what is scattered throughout the whole of this treatise, it is very obvious, that the notion of the existence of spirits, and the immortality of the soul, which the heathen world, in the earliest times, and the philosophers of Greece and Rome, with great care and labour found out, and adopted from the light of unassisted nature, is brought more fully to view, under the gospel dispensation, and has continued in several ages and countries, to be more and more illustrated by numbers of examples, levelled to the meanest capacity, which the most abandoned sceptic or libertine cannot possibly question, if he believes any truth, or admits the testimony of his senses.

To conclude: if in the foregoing observations, the candid reader find any thing to please him, I have partly my aim; and though they should not come up to his wish or expectation, I shall at least have the satisfaction, that they may employ the pen of others better qualified to remove their scruples, by treating on my broken hints with greater strength and accuracy.

THEOPHILUS INSULANUS.

APPENDIX

TO THE

TREATISE

ON THE

SECOND SIGHT,

Dreams, Apparitions, &c.

SEEING some men are unhappily possessed of strong prejudices against all revelation, and the immortality of the soul, that a few instances will not be sufficient to gain their assent to these momentous principles; the author of the foregoing treatise, has thought fit to add some more equally authentic, as follows:

COLONEL OGILVIE.

The Reverend Mr. Ogilvie, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, relates, that Colonel Ogilvie, of his acquaintance, had given in too much to the fashionable vices of the age, and having a comrade of the same turn, who as well as he, questioned the being of a God, and the immortality of the soul; they entered into a compact, that, if it was possible for departed souls to re-animate their bodies, whoever of them died first, should appear to the survivor.

Thereafter, his friend having gone abroad, and as the Colonel sat in his chamber at home, he saw him enter, and arose to salute him; but he put off the ceremony, saying, he only came to acquaint him there was a God, and that he was himself condemned; upon which he disappeared: the Colonel having marked the day, hour, month and year, found out, that his friend dropt off the stage precisely at that time, which so reformed him, that he became and continued remarkably pious all his days. I had this relation from Mr. Niel MacLeod, minister in Mull, who had it from Mr. Ogilvie, minister, and he from the Colonel, who appeared ready and fond to satisfy any that inquired about it.

MICHAEL MERCATUS.

Baronius giveth an example parallel to the above, of Marcillinus Ficinus, who being in a dispute with Michael Mercatus about the immortality of the soul, they agreed, by a solemn vow, that whoever of them died first should appear to his friend, and give him certain intelligence. It was Ficinus his fate first to die; and, not long after this mutual resolution, he was punctual to his promise: Mercatus being very intent on his studies in a morning, heard a horse riding by with all speed, and observed that he stopped at his window, and then heard the voice of his friend Ficinus, crying out aloud, O Michael! Michael! *vera sunt illa;* those things are true: whereupon he opened his window, and espied Marcillinus on a white steed, called after him, but he vanished out of his sight: he sent instantly to Florence to know how Marcillinus did, and understood that he died about that hour he called at his window.

CAPTAIN DYKE.

Much to the same purpose, is that famous and well attested account of the appearance or apparition of Major George Sydenham, to Captain Thomas Dyke, both of Somersetshire; attested by the worthy and learned Doctor Thomas Dyke, and Mr. Douch, to whom the Major and Captain were intimately known, as may be seen at large in the first volume of Mr. Flavel, folio edition.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

The apparition of the ghost of Sir George Villiers, (to the Duke of Buckingham, giving three several warnings,) by his servant Mr. Parker, is a known and well attested story.

JONATHAN EASTON.

I will add one more, much of the same kind, delivered to me by Rory MacLeod, son to the deceased Mr. Norman Macleod, sometime minister of Kilmuir. In the year 1745, Jonathan Easton, living at Newport in Rhode island, having got a young girl, fourteen years of age or thereby, of the natives, in his service; and sometime thereafter, he and his wife taking a jaunt into the country, left the charge of his house to the said young girl; and among other things a garduine of rum. An Indian girl that staid in the family, had a passion for the rum, and made frequent demands on the housekeeper for some of it; but she not complying, the Indian maid rose up against her, broke her neck and threw her body into a draw-well: Mr. Easton on his return missing his housekeeper, asked of the Indian maid about her; who answered, that soon after he went off she left the house, but did not return: about a month thereafter, as Mr. Easton was in bed, he saw an apparition, between sleep and awake, informing him, the Indian girl had murdered his servant and thrown her into the draw-well, of which he at first did not take notice; but the scene being thrice repeated, he considered there might be something in it; whereupon he called one of the town-council, and both going to the well, found the body of the girl, and thereupon seized the Indian maid, who immediately confessed the murder, for which she was executed. My informer, who is a person of unquestionable candour, being present at her execution.

The same gentleman told me, that he being at sea, they had lost their wood-axe in a storm, so that in three weeks, for want of it, they could not kindle a fire, as their burn-wood consisted of large logs: on a morning the shipmaster called to him, (being then mate) and told him he dreamed the missed hatchet was, in the storm, thrown under the cabouch or fire-place, with the edge inward, covered with a piece of bark; whereupon he straight went to deck, searched for, and to his great joy found the hatchet in the situation above narrated, which was very providential, as they wanted fire so long to dress their victuals.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Doctor Prideaux mentions a most remarkable dream, that Alexander the Great had of the Jewish High-priest at Dio in Macedonia, inviting him to come over to Asia, to take possession of the Persian empire; and how Alexander thereafter paid homage to Jaddua the High-priest, on his coming out of Jerusalem to meet that conqueror: as you have it at large in page 487 of his Connexion, edition vi.

The DUKE DE SULLY

mentions in his memoirs, that as he was at night fortifying the castle of Passy, he saw distinctly two armies in the air; and that, the next morning, as he was reflecting on the same surprising appearance, he had a letter from Henry IV., then King of Navarre, acquainting him, that the Duke de Main's army being joined with the Spaniards, was ready to give him battle, which happened the day following at Ivory; as may be seen at more length in the said memoirs, page 353. It is true he says "Je ne sçay si il est realité ou illusion." But Davila, who wrote the history of those times, is more express, and describes the phenomenon, livre 11, in all the frightful circumstances that attended it, as seen by the whole army.

There was such another phenomenon observed at Boreray in North-Uist, before the Duke of

Cumberland's decisive victory at Culloden over the rebels, of which I was informed by persons of unquestionable credit, severals of whom are still living. This was such a finishing stroke to the rebels, as saved three kingdoms from oppression and slavery, exercised in preceding reigns, of which the Irish massacre, and hot persecution in the time of Queen Mary of England, and others who sat on the British throne before and after her, afford mournful, never to be forgotten, memorials.

Tacitus relates, the people of Regium Lepidum, took notice on the day of battle at Bedriachum; that a bird of uncommon form, such as was never seen there, perched upon a neighbouring grove much frequented, and that neither by the great concourse of persons that passed by, nor by a flock of other birds flying about her, was she terrified or driven thence, till the moment Otho put an end to his life; she then instantly disappeared; and by such as compared the conjuncture with events, the beginning and end of this miraculous appearance, were found exactly to coincide with the death of the Emperor.

The EMPEROR VESPASIAN,

seized with a passion for visiting the residence of the Deity Serapis at Alexandria, to consult him about the state and fortune of the empire, commanded all men to retire from the temple, and then entered himself: whilst he was intent on contemplating the image of the Deity, he perceived behind him one of the grandees of Egypt, named

Basilides, whom he knew then to be several days journey distant from Alexandria, and confined by sickness: he examined the priests, whether Basilides had that day entered the temple? and asked such as he met, whether he had been seen in the city? which they all denied. Then, by horsemen purposely despatched, he fully learnt, that he was at that instant eighty miles from thence; and then he understood the vision to be divine; and from the name of Basilides, inferred an effectual answer. If any are curious for a further detail, he will find it at more length in Tacitus, from page 270 to page 273, in vol. 6, of Gordon's translation, lib. 4, Dublin edition.

Before the total destruction of Jerusalem, under the conduct of Titus the son of Vespasian, many prodigies were seen in the air, city, and temple, all portending the utter ruin of that famous Mistress of the East, conform to our Saviour's prediction; such as a comet hung over it for a whole year, in the figure of a sword; a wonderful light about the altar, a little before the revolt, at the ninth hour of the night, and continued for the space of half an hour as bright as day. Upon the celebration of the Paschal feast, at the same festival, a cow was delivered of a lamb in the middle of the temple; and the eastern gate of the inner temple, all made of solid brass, and so heavy that it was as much as twenty men could do to shut, besides that it was fastened with iron bolts and bars, mortised into a huge threshold of one entire stone, about the sixth hour opened itself.

JESUS.

Some time after the festival was over, (which is more directly to my theme) in the month Artemisius, there were seen by many up and down the air, before sunset, chariots and armed men all over the country, passing along with the clouds, round about the city: and what is equally, if not more wonderful, four years before the war commenced, when the city was in profound peace, and flowing in plenty, one Jesus, a plain country fellow, coming to the feast of tabernacles, broke out on a sudden into this exclamation, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four quarters of the world, a voice to Jerusalem, people and temple, &c." And this was his cry, day and night, in all places and through every street. Upon this behaviour, being brought before Albinus the governor of Judea, he was severely lashed, which he bore without tears or supplication: after his bad usage, he kept silent until the war broke out, and then he took the tour of the wall once again, crying out with a stronger voice than ordinary, "Wo to this city, temple and people;" concluding, "wo to myself;" and at that instant was taken off, or beat down by a stone from an engine. If any want to know these amazing passages more fully, he will find them insert, from page 1643 to page 1645, inclusive, of Josephus' History of the Jewish war. Lond. 8vo.

Numberless are the examples from sacred and profane history, of dreams, visions and apparitions, to persons of all ranks and professions, in every age and country, that have been exactly fulfilled according as they were represented: from which, what is above observed in the foregoing treatise on the Second Sight, we may as clearly infer, as two and three make five, that, though the extraordinary methods to inquire of God by Urim and Thummim, and those especially called to the prophetic office are now ceased, yet there is still an uninterrupted correspondence kept up and maintained between other intellectual beings, natives of unknown regions, and the inhabitant that is within us. And now, as, by so many authentic proofs of future events, the awful fundamental truths of religion are plainly discovered, and, in spite of cavil and objections, fully established; so any, who is not resolved to continue infidel at all hazards, may plainly perceive, that these preternatural informations, bearing the great seal and stamp of divine credentials, are manifestations intended to uphold our faith, comfort us under private or public afflictions, and govern our practice in the indispensible duties towards God and man.

Copy of a Letter from the Reverend Mr. Donald M'Queen, minister in Trotternish.

TO THE AUTHOR.

"DEAR SIR, *22d December*, 1756.

"I had the pleasure of your favour yesterday. As I was going to church this morning, my wife was in labour of a daughter, and your servant is pressing for an answer:

I nunc, et versus, tecum meditare canoros.

It is as ill to play the philosopher as the poet on such an occasion: plain truths do best. Different persons have their favourite subjects: dreams and apparitions have never been mine; for I could dream sensibly neither asleep or awake: and therefore, I have never taken the matter into serious consideration, any further than for winter-talk by a fireside, until Mr. Mackenzie, the surveyor, and some agreeable converse with you, set me a-thinking, there might be something more than amusement made of it. Though the religious and pious uses to which you apply your labours, might be a bait to tempt one of my cloth to yield to some degree of assent, when there should be not a great deal of solidity at the bottom: and I must own, when the impression of your arguments, enforced as they were, with lively action and pathos, wears off, that I am apt to fall again into my infidelity; so strong are the prejudices of education, if one is not very willing, and at much leisure to correct them. Yet, Sir, as your design is good, whether the materials you have put together to promote it be so or not, they may be level to the capacities, or more properly speaking, to the turn of thinking among some men; it signifies little, whether I am of the number or not. I will throw in my mite as far as my memory can serve me, with the greater pleasure, that what I intend to say, will justify a person I so much value; to your own reflections, or the captious humour of any body that pretends to be surprised at your dealing in such an uncommon out-of-the-way subject. I never did, nor never will seriously clatter with the superstitious vulgar, the great vulgar, or the small, on that head, credulous as they are, and much given to fiction, I rather choose to point out the first-rate authors of antiquity, the Greek and Roman historians: upon every disaster, upon every revolution of state, among the clusters of prodigies heaped together, monstrous births, cows speaking, and even oak-trees, &c. Have you not voices more than human, men and women? appearances of more than human size? by which phrase they mean to attribute some kind of divinity to the vision, Brutus' *Videbis me iterum Philippis.* You have a more than human shape, addresses Cyrus in Xenophon before his death; in these words, or something like them: "Prepare for entering the company of the gods." Jaddua the high priest's appearance to Alexander the Great in Josephus, if you can believe a conqueror, that could bribe the priests of Jupiter Hammon: and many more that might be added. Besides numberless authorities from the poets, whose business it is to preserve probability and imitate the truth, I will quote but one from the prince of the clan,

Visa mihi ante oculos et nota major imago. VIRG.

I am troubled with the midwife of the house, I wish she may deliver me of a bright thought again I return. Well! Waterstein and others of his humour, that do not deal in speculations of this kind, will say in answer to all this, that these sights have been common only among the more ignorant people, the Highlanders, the Laplanders, and the inhabitants of Topinambo; disappear with, as we improve in knowledge: and that in civilized countries, they are the creatures of fear, the most headstrong and visionary of all the passions, on high and important occasions! Tacitus has the same thought; I remember the phrase, but it looks like pedantry to crowd latin in a letter, though on a learned subject; take it on my word, there is something in this observation, and that may be sometimes the case; but who will say, that there are not exceptions? I will give you one instance more to your taste and purpose, than any thing I have said hitherto, and that from the author I mentioned last.

"CURTIUS RUFUS,

"supposed by the learned, to be the writer of the well known history of Alexander the Great, meanly descended, went in the retinue of a Quæstor into Africa: a woman of more than human size made up to him, and desired him to return to Rome, where he should enter into the highest offices of state, and that he would at last come in quality of Pro-consul to Africa, where he should die. Every thing befell him according to the prediction. Of him Tiberius said, (for a cover to the lowness of his birth, when he got the consulship for him) that Rufus was only descended of himself. When he returned Pro-consul to Africa, the same vision appeared to him; he fell sick, and though there was nothing unlikely about him, he knew for certain he was to die. I the rather quote this story, that Pliny the younger, who does so much honour to the Christian religion (though a pagan); as he showed great justice and clemency to the professors of it in his own time. When I have done, I will see and point out the letter to you; as you will find a great deal more to your purpose.

"A fine house at Athens, left desolate for being haunted with a ghost which trailed a gingling chain after it. Athenodorus, the philosopher, hired the house, and dispossessed the ghost. The story is too long for this place.

"You see next a freedman of Pliny's, and other two boys at the university, who had their heads polled by a browny (we would, I believe, call him so): Pliny on the faith of these instances, puts the question to his friend, whether phantoms (as he expresses it) have any real existence, or divinity in them? or whether they are vanity or emptiness, that receive their own reality from our fear? I wish we had his answer, which would perhaps remove scruples, and cast more light on your treatise than all the pens in Sky put together: but will any one be thoughtless enough to say, that the subject is below the dignity of your pen, when Pliny presses his friend, to write a disputation upon it, and give the arguments on both sides their full force?

"Forgive the length of this letter, and, according to my promise, look to the 27th letter of the 7th book of Pliny's epistles; and am, with my compliments to your lady and daughter, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"DONALD M'QUEEN."

The Author's Answer to the above Letter.

"REVEREND DEAR SIR,

"I had not been so long silent to your last, but that I was informed, after I had received that favour, you was visited with the heavy affliction of losing your bosom-companion; a misfortune that must have ingrossed your thoughts so much, as to render you incapable to receive relief from any other subject, or amusement for some time: the grief that seizes a person on such a dismal occasion, is so violent and headstrong, that by endeavouring in the beginning to confine it to certain bounds, inflames it the more. As time, that great devourer, with a pious resignation to the will of heaven, may have worn off, or abated the first pangs, and mournful reflections, due to the memory of the deceased; give me leave to offer this trouble, which aims to give you a truce from thoughts that may offer to break in upon you, in your closest retirements. It would make me proud to know that my arguments for the Second Sight had made impressions upon you, unless at the same time you had told me they soon disappeared, and that you was apt to relapse into your former infidelity; it was indeed some time before I was made a convert to it myself, though I heard many stories of that kind from several good persons: what made me inquire more narrowly into that subject, was in consequence of a conversation I had with Sir Richard Steele, who engaged me to search for instances of it, well attested, which, if I took the trouble to send him, he would improve to confute those irreligious persons, whose system of faith is the same with that of the Sadducees, mentioned in holy writ. To succeed in what I had undertaken, and to promote so good a design, I have now and then, with my utmost care, examined what truth might be in these prophetic predictions; and as I at first entertained a suspicion, that some of them were spurious, have been the more diligent, to separate the genuine from those that had the least appearance of falsehood; that I might be provided of proper materials for a treatise on that subject.

I am not surprised, that deists or libertines, (of which I am sorry we have such swarms in this degenerate age) should endeavour to run down the force and scope of my arguments; as they are levelled to destroy their impious and uncomfortable principles: but as mine are seconded by authentic evidences, and that they have none to support the pernicious articles of their creed; I cannot imagine, that any pious person, much less one of your cloth, will adopt opinions without foundation, that cannot exist, even in imagination: whereas there are myriads, (as I may say) of instances, to prove, that the Second Sight, dreams, &c. have their completion, from intelligence, and a divine impulse. And it is certain, my adversaries cannot possibly maintain, that any prediction of future events has happened, or can come to pass, from any known property in matter, the passivity of which is agreed upon by all persons, how much soever they may differ in other respects. Though Livy, that learned, eloquent, and accurate historian, (out of compliance to the humour of his nation, and the general superstition which prevailed in that age,) hath related stories that seem improbable and fictitious; yet a few of these should not derogate from or discredit, a much greater number of facts, equally certain, and better attested, as the former seem fabulous; among those that are well attested, I reckon the soothsayer's prediction to Cæsar, of the ides of March, with Cæsar's and Calphurnia's dreams, the last night of his life; as also the apparitions to Cyrus, Curtius Rufus, and Brutus, a little before their deaths; with many more that might be brought from history, too numerous to be crowded in the compass of a letter; but you will forgive, to remind you of one you pointed out in Pliny's letters: after that great minister informs his friend Licinus, of two instances he had by report from others, he gives him two more from his own knowledge, which he had no room to question, as the one sprung from the same source, appeared to be in corroboration of the other. And before I conclude, I must desire your patience, to inform you of an instance, something parallel to the last, as follows:

"Sir Normand MacLeod, playing at tables in his own house, with the steward of St. Kilda, the latter having the worst of the game, who, after throwing the dice, was much puzzled how to play the throw with safety, a stander-by, who had no skill, or never played at tables, desired the steward to alter and replace two of his men in different stations which he pointed at; whereupon Sir Normand being offended, inquired how the d—l he came by that knowledge? the man said, that browny coming in, and, as he looked on, pointed with a wand in his hand at the movements he named, and so disappeared.—Should any sceptic fall in your way, whose faith is to have none, please inquire of him, if he can point out any prediction arising from natural causes, which has at any time been fulfilled: but if he can give no instances this way (as indeed he cannot), it is a sign he must give up the cause, and acknowledge, that the predictions exactly accomplished as they are prefigured, and the testimony of unquestionable authority from history, ancient and modern, to establish their credit, must exist and arise from the influence and ministry of spiritual agents: but what need have we to borrow instances of Second Sight, dreams, or apparitions, from Greek and Roman authors, or to seek after them in ages more remote, when polytheism and superstition had overrun the whole heathen world, seeing we meet with numbers of such examples at home, from our own acquaintance and contemporaries, persons of several ranks that have filled all offices among us, and who are remarkable for candour, as they are distinguished by probity, good sense and integrity. Are there any charms to grope in the dark, to launch out into a wide ocean of uncertainty, without guide or compass, or, in imitation of Don Quixote, to roam after new chimerical discoveries? if men are mad enough to be fond of such extravagancies, they are surely to be less envied than pitied. I am sensible, that authors generally are partial to the offspring of their mind, as parents are towards their progeny, which would make it reasonable in them to be directed by Mr. Pope's opinion, in his excellent essay on criticism.

> "Trust not yourself; but your defects to know,
> Make use of every friend and every foe."

But I find the pleasure of talking to a friend I so much value, has led me further than I intended to go, and so must conclude, without offering any apology for the length of this letter, but that I am very affectionately, your most humble servant.

"T. I."

Copy, Letter from Allan MacDonald, younger of Kingsborough, to the Author.

"DEAR SIR, 22d December, 1756.

"As I will be always fond of obliging you in whatever lies in my power, I here send you a short narration of such facts as are vouched to my knowledge, concerning the Second Sight and dreams, to support which I am, and will still be, willing to contribute.

"ALEXANDER MACDONALD,

"alias MacRanald, Vic. Uiston, (a person of known courage and honour,) coming from Slate to my father's house, in the year 1747, we accidentally fell upon the subject of the Second Sight, which induced him to give us the following account. About five o'clock at night, he and half a dozen more, all honest tenants, came into the change-house of Kilmore in Slate, about a pistol-shot from the kirk, to take a moderate refreshment, it being in the month of December, then cold frosty weather; about an hour after coming in, he accidentally went to the door, which fronted the kirk-yard, saw, to his great surprise, the whole kirk-yard was covered over with men; not only so, but heard the confused murmur of their speech, yet not so as to distinguish word by word, or to understand any part thereof; the moon was so bright, that he discerned a crowd about the place of burial distinctly, belonging to the family of MacDonald, and the rest of the company dispersed in twos and threes over the whole churchyard. After he had sufficiently satisfied his curiosity, he went in to the change-house, and told the company what he had seen, who immediately sprang to the door, and had the same sight for the space of ten minutes, and then it gradually vanished from their sight, they being ten in number. The wife of the house, her daughter and servant, are still in life, who were of the number that saw this vision; and, it is observable, that a month thereafter, the old Lady MacDonald was buried in the very spot where they imagined to have seen the throng of the people."

Mr. & Mrs. MACQUEEN.

"In the year 1751, Archibald MacQueen, son to the deceased Reverend Mr. Archibald MacQueen, late minister of Snisort, leaving his father's house on a Thursday morning, in the month of October, went across the hills of Trotternish, to a place on the east side called Rigg: in his way from thence to Tottarome, about four in the afternoon, he was taken with an apoplectic fit, of which he died on the spot, though within a pistol-shot of Mr. Nicolson's house, who by his profession is a physician, and saw him drop, and ran in vain to his relief. It was so late, that it was deferred to send word to his father till day-break, as there was a hill of six miles between both villages: but that night, betwixt the hours of eleven and twelve, after Mr. Archibald and his spouse had gone to bed, they heard a lamentable noise about the house, as it were women mourning; whereupon Mr. Archibald ordered people immediately to look out what the matter was, but they saw nothing, so went to bed; but no sooner were they laid down, than they heard the same lamentation and clapping of hands, which is a Highland custom with women to express their grief for the loss of near friends; so he ordered two out again, who surrounded the house, but saw nothing. In twenty minutes thereafter, they heard howling and lamentation a third time; on which the goodwife of the house, and her sister, surrounded the house, but saw nothing. The landlord being a weak tender old man, about eighty years of age; the whole family slept no more; and about eight o'clock in the morning, an express arrived from Tottarome, acquainting them of Archibald their son's sudden death: whereupon the whole family were in an uproar of cries and lamentations; so that the former was a sure forerunner of the latter. There are plenty of people still living to attest these facts; besides that I had the former told me in my father's hearing; and Mr. Archibald's wife and servant told me the other more than once."

"In the end of the year 1744, fourteen persons saw a large vessel coming in below Kingsborough, in the dusk of the evening, and drop anchor in the entrance of Loch Snisort, a very uncommon harbour, which surprised us all. This sight we had till night deprived us of it; but next morning there was no vessel to be found, so that we all agreed it to be the Second Sight, which was soon accomplished; for Captain Ferguson being in search of the young Pretender, with the Furnace sloop of war, anchored exactly in the dusk of the evening, in that unusual place above-mentioned, half a mile below the house of Kingsborough."

"ALEXANDER MACDONALD

"of Kingsborough, (when living in the possession of Aird, in the remote end of Trotternish,) dreamed that he saw an old reverend man come to him, desiring him to get out of bed, and get his servants together, and make haste to save his corns, as his own whole cattle, and his tenants' cattle also, had got out of the fold, and were in the middle of a large field behind the house; he awaked and told his wife, with whom he consulted whether he would rise or not; and she telling him it was but a dream, and not worth noticing, advising him to lie still, which he obeyed; but no sooner fell asleep, than the former old man appeared to him, and seemed angry, by telling Mr. MacDonald, (then of Aird) he the old man was very idle, in acquainting him of the loss he would or had by this time sustained by his cattle, and seemed not to heed what he said, and so went off. Mr. MacDonald awaking the second time, told this to his wife, and would be at rising in any event, but she would not allow him, and ridiculed him for noticing the folly of a confused dream; so that, after attempting to get up, he was, at his wife's persuasion, prevailed upon to lie down again; and falling asleep, it being now near break of day, the old gentleman appeared to him the third time, with a frowning countenance, and told him he might now lie still, for that the cattle were now surfeited of his corn, were lying in it; and that it was for his welfare that he came to acquaint him so often, as he was his granduncle by the father; and so went off. He awakening in about an hour thereafter, arose and went out, and actually found his own and his tenants' cattle lying in his corn, after being tired of eating thereof; which corn, when comprised, the loss amounted to eight bolls of meal."

"About eight years ago, six tenants in Garafad, being in the wood with a boat, and on their way homeward, within sight of their own houses, were lost; on which the whole country people on that side, were employed for six days, endeavouring to find out their bodies, but all to no purpose. In ten days thereafter, a tenant's wife in Garafad, told, that one MacLeod, (being of those that perished in the boat,) told her in her sleep, that they needed not look for his body at so great a distance from land as they did, for that he lay in a cave by such a name; which upon examination, was found to be true. Many more instances I could have given, but had not time to insert them. I am, with compliments, dear Sir, your very humble servant,

" ALLAN MACDONALD.

" P. S. One instance more of the Second Sight, take as follows: for two years together, none of the Mistress of Garafad's women would stay in her kiln, because of a corpse in its linens, they frequently saw on the kiln-grish, or where corn is dried, a very unusual place indeed to lay corpses on! But it happened, last year, that one MacPhail from Gearlough, with his whole crew, except one, were lost near Garafad; one of the corpses being found that evening, was carried on a bier, and left in the kiln on the drying-place; as the whole people expected to get the rest of the bodies immediately, they did not wait to go to a house with the one they had found; and, so that corpse remained in the kiln all night; which every body remarked as the fulfilling of the Second Sight, which had been seen in the kiln before."

Copy letter from Mr. Donald Martin, of Beallach, in Trotternish.

TO THE AUTHOR.

"DEAR SIR, *27th December*, 1756.

"Your favour I have received by your servant the twenty-sixth current. In answer to it please know, that I am so much a stranger to the Second Sight, that I am sorry you can be little the better of any thing I am able to write you on that subject; only these instances I told you when last together, which (if you think deserve a place in your treatise, I will here relate as follows:

"Upon the first of January, 1733, three boys were late at night travelling together from the north of Duntulm, to the place of my residence at Beallach; the weakest of them, a boy of twelve years of age, walked a musket-shot behind the rest, and gave such a terrible cry, as alarmed his comrades much; upon their asking him what the matter was; he answered, that he was surrounded with some hundreds of men, and was surprised they did not see them likewise; upon which they told him there was no such thing, otherwise one of them would see the same; when he, with difficulty, (as he alledged,) came up to his comrades, he pointed out a certain spot, and told them there was a gentleman riding on a white horse before the crowd; then he cried out, that another rider had fallen from his horse, in a place hard by them: in short he confounded the other boys, pointing at the different sorts of people about him: they came to the house and told me, and others still living, how much the boy surprised them, by what he alledged to have seen: I called him before the company, and asked him what was the matter; he told me every word as above. However, no notice was taken of it until the month of December thereafter. That the tutor of MacDonald's lady died, and there were a great number of people at the interment, so that the usual road was too narrow for them; the tutor ordered them to go on that road on which the boys had been travelling the preceding January. Upon this, what the boy had told occurred to me, being in company, and was resolved to take notice if any was to fall from his horse, in that place pointed out by the boy: the tutor's horse coming up to that very place, sunk in a bog, that some of the people brought him out of his saddle, for safety; and Donald Nicholson, late tacksman of Talmtean, was riding on a white horse before them all. As for the other instance, there was no more of it than what I told you before; and, as it was seen by myself, it was exactly fulfilled next day. This, with the compliments of the season, is all that occurs at present, and, I am, with all due regard, dear Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

"DONALD MARTIN."

Upon a certain day as he came from his bedchamber to his dining-room, he saw distinctly a neighbouring person among his domestics, whom he knew, and distinguished his garb, but as he was to speak with him, vanished away; but next day, saw the same man in reality as he had seen him the preceding day in imagination.

I had lately a letter from one of the priesthood, hereto annexed, wherein he was pleased to start an objection against the Second Sight and apparitions, though he is otherwise a good, learned, and pious man. He seems to apprehend, that though a persuasion of these preternatural communications, could be so managed as to obtain credit; yet a prevailing opinion of this kind, might be hurtful in its consequences, as it would be apt to excite and lead us to superstition, to which severals of the unlearned, especially, are already disposed, and perhaps constitutionally inclined. This is pursuing an objection, which the doctors and prelates of the Romish clergy make use of, for locking up the word of God from the vulgar, lest they might pervert the text to their own condemnation. But it would not be expected, that a protestant divine will turn advocate for what bears affinity to this impious tenet, which puts so great a restraint on the laity, in opposition to a positive command, to search the scriptures; for doing of which, the Bereans were so much commended. Will the laborious bee leave off the exercise of his toil, in extracting honey from flowers, so beneficial to their own commonwealth, because insects of a different order extract poison from the same herbs? But as I have exposed the absurdity of this way of reasoning in the sequel of this treatise, shall not further insist here, but refer thereto; only give me leave, once for all, to observe, that there can be nothing of greater importance to mankind, or of more use to society in general, than to have a clear and thorough persuasion of the existence of spirits and the immortality of the soul. I have contributed my endeavours to obtain this end; and, by the blessing of God, I persuade myself, I could not lay out my time on any other subject to greater advantage.

Copy Letter from the Reverend Mr. Donald MacLeod, Minister in Glenelg.

TO THE AUTHOR.

"DEAR SIR, *15th February*, 1759.

"I had the favour of yours, where, with no small satisfaction, I perused your curious and accurate observations on the causes of Mr. ——'s tender state of health; he is indeed a kind of barometer, as you not improperly called him; for every change of the air, produces a change in his health. I have not seen him since the receipt of yours, to communicate to him your philosophical remarks on his constitution. A few days after I was favoured with yours, I went to A——le, when the B——e was so good as to send one of his servants express for the Serjeant, in his own name and mine, but he refused to come to us: I made a second attempt some time after that, but he kept out of the way. He took it into his head, it seems, that it was not safe for him to throw himself in our way, as we blamed, or rather threatened him last year, for unseasonably publishing some of his predictions.

"By which he possessed two women in this country, with a notion that they were to die in child-bed, which fell out accordingly: and which we in a great measure imputed to his having filled their heads with those apprehensions. To tell you the plain truth, though in compliance with your commands, I used my endeavours to get the serjeant, yet I find myself so ill qualified, and so little inclined to meddle with that subject of the Second Sight, that I would with much greater pleasure serve you any other way; whether you are in a peculiar manner fitted by nature for that nice and intricate study of the deuteroscopia; or, which is equally reasonable to suppose, whether you are possessed of that *versatile ingenium*, which Livy, I think, ascribes to Cato, and by the superior strength and improvement of which like that celebrated Roman whatever you apply yourself to, but never so short a time, will appear to the public to have been the whole study of your life. It will be granted that you have handled that intricate and seemingly incomprehensible subject in so masterly a way, that what Dryden said of Shakspeare upon a like occasion, may, with equal propriety, be applied here:

> 'Shakspeare's magic could not copied be;
> Within that circle none durst move but he.'

"At the same time, I humbly think, but with all submission, that T. I. would do himself no less honour, and would do a more substantial service to society, did he turn his thoughts and application to those subjects, that have a more direct and immediate tendency, to make us good and wise men. However good your design is, and however well you adapted the prosecution of the subject to that design; still that subject of the Second Sight is liable to be perverted to the purposes of superstition; that there is great danger of bad use being made of it. Your friends in A—le are very well. With my respectful compliments to your family, I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"DONALD MACLEOD."

I must not however forget, that other Ecclesiastics, in a conversation with me, owned the truth of the Second Sight, dreams, and apparitions; since they could not refuse, but predictions in that way are often justified by the event; but as it is doubtful, say they, whether the intelligence we receive of this kind, proceeds from the ministry of good or bad spirits; it would be more for the general quiet of mankind to overlook some truths, than give way, that any who pleased, might set up for being actuated by a divine impulse. This is the substance, in its full force, of what these good men suggested; and what I will not take upon me, in a precise dogmatical manner to refute: yet as this new broached difficulty may employ the inquiry of the curious, I take the liberty to throw in my mite among those that may be much better qualified to pry into such intricate speculations.

And first of all, it affords me a deal of pleasure to find those who had the opportunity and inclination to examine several of these instances I pitched upon in this treatise, acknowledge them to be genuine; and consequently, as it cannot be maintained, that these preternatural communications are carried on, or maintained by any exertion, or known property of matter, this extraordinary insight in futurity, in my opinion, is, and must be carried on by the intervention of spirits. In the next place, I cannot but observe, that as the knowledge which arises from the Second Sight, dreams, and apparitions, has no tendency to instil bad morals or promote infidelity, but rather the contrary, there is less reason to suppose it to result from a malevolent being, who cannot in reason be suspected to contribute in the least to reform mankind: when we add to this, how much a depravation of manners prevail in the world; how men are sunk in the most daring impiety, even to deny the Lord who made them, should we not rather believe, that the Great Author of our being, as we are his peculiar care and favourites, has commissioned, or permitted beneficient spirits, ministers of his will, by such striking examples, beyond the power of nature, to awaken us from the dalliance and short pleasure of sin; and to convince us, that as we are not flung into being by blind chance, or a fatal necessity, but by his all superintending Providence, it is our interest of greatest importance, to fit and prepare ourselves in this life, which is so soon to end; that we may die the death of the righteous, which is natural for all men to desire, unless from a stoical apathy, we suppress in our imagination the strong passions of hope and fear.

Copy Letter from the Author, in answer to one from a Clergyman; which is inserted in gremio.

REVEREND SIR,

Your favour of the 1st of May I received, and had the pleasure therein to see, that you have got the better, at least a truce from the stubborn pain in your hand, which distressed you so long; and obliged the wide circle of your friends, instead of improving as usual by the production of your quill, to turn their thoughts, and confine themselves, to the melancholy theme of condoling your situation, and lamenting, in vain, so general a loss to the commonwealth of letters, which seemed to stand in defiance of all remedies. The compliments you are pleased to make me in the beginning and other passages of your most elegant letter, I must consider as the result of partiality, and the overflowings of a breast possessed of the purest friendship and most extensive benevolence. Indeed, the progress you have made in the belles lettres, learned languages, and more especially in your own province as a divine, would render it an arduous undertaking in me to oppose your sentiments on any problematical question; but, as the remarks in your letter on vision and the Second Sight, have probably been thrown together in a hurry, without attending to what I advanced in favours of both, it has given me some advantage in framing my answer, as I have spent more time and inquiry, to pry into that intricate speculation. You'll forgive me to insert your words at some length, that I may have them before my eyes, as well as in my mind, while I go about to consider the force of your reasoning distinctly throughout the several periods.

DEAR SIR, *May 1st*, 1759.

At a time when Christianity, that is to say, the most harmless, or, to speak more justly, the most benevolent, the most useful, and of course the divinest institution, that ever yet was published to the world, is so rudely assaulted, and new attempts made every day to build irreligion, or, in other words, immorality and perdition on its ruins, any one who draws his pen in defence of it, undoubtedly deserves the thanks of the public, as well as of individuals; even though his arguments should happen not to be strictly conclusive; *In magnis voluisse sat est.* But in the mean time, however commendable the zeal of every such advocate may be, we are under no obligation to give the assent of our understandings to every topic he urges, or to adopt every hypothesis he happens to start: for my share, I cannot help being fond of every thing that undertakes to confirm or vindicate my faith; nor is it easy for me not to have a peculiar value, and a very strong partiality for every thing that is the offspring either of your fancy or understanding. But still, to speak but the language of my conscience, I am at least sceptical as to the credibility of the Second Sight; and, in great earnest, how is it possible to demonstrate, I mean in the moral way, that these people, who, according to your system, carry on a commerce with the invisible world, or have revelations communicated to them by superior beings, are neither imposed upon themselves, nor in the humour of imposing on others? How, pray, comes it to pass, that these Seers of visions, are neither remarkable for the purity of their manners, the rectitude of their hearts, the extent of their knowledge, or strength of parts? Are they the devoutest, are they the wisest, are they the honestest and most undesigning part of our cotemporaries, who have pretended to make apocalyptical discoveries? One can scarce venture to say so; and putting the case, that these visions or discoveries are sufficiently authentic, rather absolutely, than problematical, or quite apocryphal; still you will have a difficulty in proving that they are of importance enough to be worthy of an all-wise, all-merciful God; or that they are any thing else than random conjectures, made by enthusiastical, or wrong-headed, designing, or self-interested men, whose internal senses are strongly tinged with superstition, or their hearts corrupted by ambition, craft, or avarice. The oracular responses of old heathen deities have, I dare affirm, as much of divine authority stamped upon them, as any one anecdote we are able to pick out of the history of deuteroscopic persons: and should it be objected, that many of the predictions made by Second Sighted people, have been exactly accomplished or verified by corresponding events, one may answer, that the case is exactly the same, with regard to the prophecies vended by Augurs, Necromancers, Astrologers, and Fortune-tellers of every denomination: all such revelation-mongers, supposing them to be possessed of a reasonable share of common sense and sagacity, must unavoidably stumble upon truth once or twice in their lives; and you must be quite sensible, that one or two such lucky, though fortuitous instances of divination, will * establish the credit of such impostures; and, at the same time, bury all their cunning devised lies, in perhaps, eternal oblivion. In fine, I am far from being in the humour of raising a great deal of dust to darken any important truth, or starting objections in order to weaken the credit of such an hypothesis, much less in favour of you: but you will permit me to observe, that, in spite of the many shrewd and ingenious things you have said to support it, the advocates and abettors of infidelity, who will not be persuaded, though they have Moses and the Prophets; and, what is more, Christ and his Apostles, will persist in their incorrigible folly, though one should rise from the dead to preach the doctrine of the Second Sight to them. To conclude, I take the liberty to add, that if H—r did apply that *versatile ingenium*, to which your elegant correspondent has done no more than common justice to the other side of the question, that theory of vision, for which you now plead with uncommon eloquence and strength of reason, would in a little time be more out of vogue, in the commonwealth of letters, than ever heretofore.

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* *(i. e.)* With the credulous and deluded vulgar, whom Satan and their lusts have deceived.

I ever am, yours absolutely,
JOHN MACPHERSON."

Though the learned and ingenious author of the above cursory remarks, seems averse to adopt or admit any new hypothesis, but what agrees with demonstration, yet I persuade myself he is too reasonable to expect a mathematical one, to give sanction to the Second Sight: those revelation-mongers (as he calls them) I have mentioned of my own contemporaries, cannot, by any proposition in Euclid, be demonstrated to exist, no more than Cæsar or Alexander, that lived in remoter ages; and yet we cannot refuse our assent, that such men have rendered, by their insatiable ambition, millions of mankind miserable, unless we arrive to that degree of scepticism, as to deny what all historians have agreed in, and is conveyed down to us by the uninterrupted stream of tradition. I am absolutely as certain as I can be of any thing, and will get hundreds, I might say more, to stand by me, that those I mentioned, to support dreams and Second Sight, as most of them are of my own acquaintance, are not tinctured with superstition, craft, or enthusiasm: and, as they had no design to impose on themselves, or pass a cheat on mankind, they neither could, or did propose any credit, satisfaction, or advantage to themselves from their predictions: and, as to the rectitude of their morals, give me leave, that I may avoid repetitions, only to name half a dozen of those mentioned in this small essay; and I dare say you will agree they were not capable to be prompted in their declarations from any self-views; nor directed by any other motive than bare truth allenarly: Those I point out to you, are Messrs. MacLean and MacLeod, ministers, the Lady Coll, Angus Campbell of Ensay, Normand MacLeod of Watersteine, and Rory MacLeod, son to the deceased Mr. Normand MacLeod, minister, persons untainted with corruption, craft, or want of candour. Besides these, there are several others of inferior rank treated of in my collection, who deserve equal credit with any of those that are named. You'll forgive me to believe, that neither birth, liberal education, uncommon genius, or strength of understanding, are qualifications not absolutely necessary to give credit to the Second Sight; since we are to believe, to our great satisfaction, that the Author of our Being is not a respecter of persons, but has an equal regard to the welfare of all, from the spade to the sceptre: which the preference given to despised Lazarus, and the poor humble Publican, beyond luxurious Dives and the conceited Pharisee, sufficiently evince. You seem to be of opinion, the knowledge which arises from the Second Sight, may be supposed to be of such small importance, as is unworthy of an all-wise and all-merciful God: to which I answer, that nothing can be of greater concern to mankind in general, as they are apt, with Lot's wife, at the hazard of perdition, to look back and return to their beloved sins, than to warn and keep them in mind of death and eternity, which they are ready to forget and despise: and next to God's infinite goodness in creating man, and providing for his salvation, there is not a greater display of his mercy and paternal care, than to illuminate some of both sexes, rich and poor, old and young, learned and unlearned, in different ages and countries, to instruct and convey to others the important doctrine of the existence of spirits and the immortality of the soul; which should lead us to admire and gratefully to acknowledge the kind providence of God, which has not confined these preternatural communications to the wise and great, nor to particular countries or different periods of time. I hate the race of impostors, and consider them as the property, unless they repent, of their old and malicious father, who imposed on the curiosity of credulous Eve. There is none I have mentioned comes under that denomination; and this I can attest of most of them; *causa scientiæ*, they imparted not their discoveries at random, to a few persons in private, or at any time altered their narrations; and, indeed, it were hard to confound those who are of unblemished morals, with Fortune-tellers, Necromancers, and Mountebank-retailers of good news from the stars, who have no affinity with Seers of the Second Sight; as the first belong to different classes of men, who take up their profession with matchless impudence to raise a reputation, as persons qualified with extraordinary sagacity and penetration to foretel futurities; which having established the best they can, for self-interest, vend their ware afterwards at their own price, to the deluded creatures who have the misfortune to become their dupes: on the contrary, those who see the Second Sight, have no such ambition, expect neither profit or reputation from their discoveries; and, as they aim at no advantage from their involuntary knowledge, which, often surprises them with dread and disorder, it is, with difficulty, many of them are prevailed upon to communicate the hated offspring of their impressed imagination: though I must be very sensible, that it is too much assurance, in any, not a Levite, to affect a competition with you in your own province as a divine, in which you have succeeded to the benefit and great satisfaction of all your acquaintances; yet you'll forgive me the freedom of a friend, to put you in mind, that the insight conveyed to plain illiterate persons of future events, can be no disparagement to the interest of religion or revelation.

As the all-wise God, who seeth not as man, was pleased, under the law, to choose Judges and Prophets, not of any illustrious race of men; which afterwards gave occasion, when Saul was inspired, to a proverbial saying, is Saul also among the prophets? Likewise the son of God, under the gospel, when he dispensed the treasure of eternal salvation, disdained not to associate with men of low degree, publicans and sinners, that he might bring them to repentance. It should not even be supposed, that it is unworthy of the great Author of our being, who has an absolute right and equal regard to all ranks of men; but that, according to his unerring will and pleasure, he may illuminate the meanest peasants in these arcanas, which he thinks fit to deny to others; and in what either a

Locke or Newton, in their utmost researches, with the force of their parts, either natural or acquired, could not find out. I return you hearty thanks for the good opinion you have of me; I am proud of your esteem, and expect shall not deserve it the less, that I am resolved not to apostatize either from my hypothesis, or vary in the resolution that I have to remain unalterably, that I am,

Quod nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantum;

yours, &c. T. I.

P. S. It must be confessed, our ideas and narrow conceptions, will not serve us to open the shades which veil the Second Sight from human knowledge: as it derives its source from a hidden spring, which nonplus our understanding. But if Aristippus, for the benefit of posterity, as well as the present generation, would improve on the materials of my collection; I doubt not, it would, under the sanction of his name and conduct, give such an eclaircissement in what many seem abstruse, as will for ever establish the credit of Deuteroscopia, to the good purposes I intended.

Say, shall my little bark attendant sail,
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale. POPE.

Copy, Letter from the Reverend Mr. Angus MacNeil, Minister of South Uist.

TO THE AUTHOR.

"DEAR SIR, *Dec.* 14, 1761.

YOU may remember, that, in discoursing of the Second Sight at Glenelg, where I had the pleasure of seeing you last, you expressed great curiosity, to see a book wrote on that subject, by one Mr. Fraser, called the Deuteroscopia. I have searched for, and found out the said book; and it is with pleasure I embrace this opportunity of sending it for your perusal by the bearer, this billet escorting it. Supposing the author a man of veracity, and I think his character leads us to believe so; he has done a great deal to establish the doctrine of the Second Sight. I must own, I am half a convert to his opinion, and, I am persuaded the strength and clearness of your arguments on that subject, when published to the world, will complete my conversion. If you intend publishing your book by subscription, be pleased to acquaint me, that I may procure you as many subscribers as possible; and you may rest assured, I'll do myself the pleasure to be one; should Providence order it so, that you cannot overtake publishing it in your life-time; it is my humble opinion, you should order the publication of it in your will; for to conceal your lucubrations is injuring mankind, and depriving all your acquaintance of the very great pleasure and benefit they promise themselves from their being made public. I am, (wishing you health and happiness, and life, till your literary offspring sees the light; and as long after that as God pleases,)

Dear Sir,

Yours very affectionately,

ANGUS MACNEIL."

Copy, Letter from the Reverend Mr. William MacQueen, Minister in Trotternish.

TO THE AUTHOR.

"SIR, *10th February,* 1762.

Your very kind and polite letter of the 6th instant, came to my hands the other day: I forwarded it to the gentlemen, joined with me in the address: it gives me the most solid pleasure, to find by it, that the virtue of gratitude is not totally extinguished amongst the human species, when you are pleased to express such a sense of favours, done you by my father, and of the satisfaction you derived from his company and friendship, as seems to have thoroughly penetrated you, and leave the most indelible impressions upon your mind: must not this lay me and my colleague under the strongest ties, of repairing, to the utmost of our power, the loss you suffered in being deprived of your ancient friend, who, were he now alive, would, I'll affirm, join with the greatest ardour in the tribute of applause, which the public so justly gives, on account of your treatise intended for the press; which I hope, if candidly considered, will beat infidelity in our bounds, and elsewhere, out of countenance.

"This, Sir, was a task reserved for you alone, who, to the knowledge, gravity, and experience of age, have superadded the vivacity and fire of youth, and who, by the vigour of your mind, and superiority of genius, are able to accomplish what has been long wished for, and often attempted unsuccessfully: and this you do in a manner, and on a plan, scarce ever thought of before, so that you may break out in the same exulting strain with the Poet:

> ———*Peragro loca nullius ante*
> *Trita solo; juvat integros accedere fonteis,*
> *Atque haurire; juvatque novos discerpere flores.* LUCR.

"Go on, Sir, to reclaim mistaken mankind, and to enrich the republic of letters, from that fund which you have been laying up for many years, in the faithful repository of your mind, now replete with whatever is useful among the sages of antiquity, or among the more enlightened moderns: allow me to repeat, (as far as I remember,) what I read in some French book, concerning Cardinal de Fleury, and which may with great propriety be applied to you. *S'il y a jamais eu quelqu' un d'heureux sur la terre, c'etoit sans doute Cardinal de Fleury. On le regarda comme un homme de plus aimable, et de la societe la plus delicieuse, jusqu' a l'age de soixante et trieze ans, et lorsqu' a cet age, ou tant de vieillards se retirent du monde, il eut pris en main la plume, il fut regarde comme un des plus sages, et conserva toujours une tete saine, livre et capable des affaires.* Quotations from the learned, or from foreign languages, would, if I was writing to certain people, be, not without reason, construed pedantry; but when writing to an author, in relation to his productions, it, I hope, loses that appellation. Forgive me, Sir, if perhaps my zeal has betrayed me into any expressions, which, to an indifferent person, may seem exaggerated or enthusiastic; but to you, am hopeful, they will appear to be the natural overflowings of a heart overcharged with a sense of your unalterable friendship to my father, your good-will to myself, and your pious inclinations towards mankind. Under this cover, I return your Formula, and am sorry I could not be useful in collecting subscriptions as I inclined; this is partly owing to a mistake of your servant, who did not deliver your letter to me at Snizort, on a burial occasion, when he gave my brother his, who, from an eager desire to serve you, picked up the subscriptions of almost all my parishioners who were willing to subscribe; so that, when my letter came to hand, I scarce had any subscribers at all left me. I shall be extremely glad how soon I may have occasion of felicitating you on the publication of the Deuteroscopia: and till then I shall remain, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant and cousin,

WILLIAM MACQUEEN."

Copy, Letter from the Rev. Mr. Donald MacLeod, Minister of Glenelg.

TO THE AUTHOR.

"DEAR SIR, *February* 27, 1762.

I was favoured with yours, inclosing your subscription proposal. The letter directed for him, I delivered to M. Betton. It is the misfortune of our country, to produce but few that have a relish for the works of the learned, however instructive or entertaining they may be; so that your friends will have the dissatisfaction to find their success fall very far short of their zeal, in promoting your interest in this case.

"Still your friends shall not be wanting in any thing they can do, and indeed they should be much to blame were it otherwise, when, besides the merit of the performance, and the regard they justly owe you, they have the additional motive of having the first author of distinction, that ever the clan produced, to prompt them, to give all due encouragement to it. I am extremely well pleased to find Mr. Angus MacNeil to be one of the many genteel proselytes you have made to the Deuteroscopia. I have been long since a convert to the elegant and spirited manner in which it is writ; and when I shall have read the whole with that attention it requires, I know not what effect a chain of reasoning, conducted in that eminently subtile and ingenious manner, may have upon me; by such compositions, as by a kind of enchantment, the most obstinately cautious have sometimes been carried away from themselves. Remember me in the kindest manner to your neighbour W——ne. With my compliments to your family, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

DONALD MACLEOD."

Copy, Letter from the Rev. Mr. Donald MacQueen, Minister in North-Uist.

TO THE AUTHOR.

"SIR, *May* 6, 1762.

Your letter came to hand a considerable time ago, with the proposals for printing, by subscription, your treatise on the Second Sight, which I laid before all the gentlemen in this parish at a public meeting. The number of subscribers is smaller than I at first expected, which, I assure you, is not owing to the want of diligence in me; I wish, for your sake, I could have procured more; however such a small number in every parish, would be some encouragement for the publication. I have known so many relations of the Second Sight many years ago; that I had no manner of doubt of the existence of such visions, and, it is still my opinion, that they are not seen by the external organ, otherwise all clear sighted people might see them alike; but that it is a representation, made to the imagination, by some spirit, either good or bad; which of these it is to be ascribed to, I shall not take upon me positively to determine, as nothing but conjectures can be formed about that point; and, to tell you my private sentiments, I don't chuse, as it would be talking of war before Hannibal.

"The list I have taken of the subscribers is fallen by hand, and that is the reason why a return has not been sent you sooner; they are six in number; all for bound copies, to be delivered at Dunvegan; and to them you may add, Sir, your most humble servant,

Donald MacQueen."

Is their any thing in nature of more general concern to mankind than the salvation of their souls; or any knowledge so necessary for them to acquire, as what leads to confirm the existence of spirits, and immortality of their souls? To be indifferent or sceptical in either, can be no commendation to any man, though he should otherwise be as learned and eloquent as any of the first class among the old Greeks and Romans: in proportion as a person is doubtful of his immortality, it must weaken his zeal and damp his devotion; and though, in conformity to the established religion of his country, he should pray evening and morning, attend sacraments, and perform the other duties and rites of religion, what will it avail, so long as he remains uncertain that his soul will live for ever, after it emerges out of the body? Those who, among christians, deny predictions by dreams, Second Sight, and apparitions, are not wholly aware, how great a handle they give up to unbelievers. To question the credibility of the sacred oracles wherein there are so many appeals, and much mention of intelligence conveyed this way; and if the intelligences we get in this hidden manner, are, from innumerable examples, sacred and profane, proven to be authentic; will it be a good objection against such communications, that we cannot conceive the manner in which they are carried on? can we pretend to know exactly how the union betwixt our own souls and bodies exists and operates in all its circumstances? much less can we comprehend by what means a spiritual intercourse is introduced by other intellectual beings; and, yet, if we absolutely refuse that such scenes have existed, we sap the foundation of all religion, and may herd with the brutal part of the creation. Indeed, if any one could give us the history, or any credible account, how predictions are conveyed and accomplished, distinct from those intimations that arise from Second Sight, dreams, and apparitions, there would be less reason to contend for the latter, since they are beyond the power of our faculties to comprehend; but as none of my acquaintance, or even libertines, or freethinkers, have attempted, with any tolerable success, to lead us into such a secret; is it not more eligible to acquiesce in opinion with the learned and unlearned in all ages and countries, when it confirms the greatest, and *sine qua non*, article of our faith and holy religion; than to continue sceptical in a case of the utmost importance, and boldly renounce all apocalyptical communications?

P. S. In a public paper of May 5th, 1762, we are informed of a tragical scene of persecution and martyrdom, acted at Thoulouse, the 10th of last February, on the Reverend Mr. Rochette, minister, and three noblemen, who before, and at their execution, according to the testimony of many spectators, enjoyed such an undisturbed composure and serenity of mind, that the tears of their very enemies, which flowed plentifully on that dismal occasion, served, instead of a thousand witnesses, to confirm, that these blessed martyrs were divinely inspired, and visibly supported with supernatural aid, to undergo the hard sentence of their condemnation: and indeed, since the times of Dioclesian and Maximinus, these notable persecuting emperors, who wantonly spilt the blood of the saints, there has not appeared, in the annals of history, four persons more eminent, who gave stronger proof of consummate piety, and perseverance to the last. It is true, in all periods, wherever popery prevailed, there has not been wanting severals, who, with their blood, sealed the faith once delivered to the saints: this makes it evident, that God Almighty, from his great love to mankind, is pleased to raise in every age, for wise purposes, chosen vessels, prepared and illuminated by him, to uphold the faith of their fellow-creatures in the essentials of religion: and now, seeing this gracious assistance and illumination of the spirit of God, has been manifestly displayed in the first and purest ages, and remarkably conveyed to the blessed martyrs under heathen persecution, and since continued; by which they, with joy for the prize that was set before them, endured fire, sword, and to be torn of wild beasts; is it any ways strange, or less credible, that another branch of divine revelation, by dreams and visions, for the same wise ends, which, as admitted facts, are carried down to our own times by the best historians, and the universal stream of tradition, should not be equally certain and indisputable?

What more evidence can be desired for predictions, than the general consent of the learned and unlearned, that they have been verified and accomplished? what better proof can be required for the truth of the Second Sight, than that upwards of an hundred instances, to which thousands might be added, exemplified in the preceding collections, have been exactly fulfilled; according to the candid testimony of persons of all ranks, who lived in remote ages and countries, as they are delivered down to posterity by the best historians; besides, many such revelations are still in use, and ascertained by innumerable people, equally candid, who are living to this day? To expect any further help from matter, which can neither give, nor receive any intelligence of predictions, is idle and impertinent. If the sceptic, or freethinker, vainly expects more illustration, on a subject confessedly abstruse, one would think, as it is of such importance, he ought to give a public intimation of the mode and standard of his faith, with the means to settle and compose his conviction, without which it is impossible to satisfy his scruples, any other way than from those hints and facts already mentioned.

THEOPHILUS INSULANUS.

THE

MISCHIEVOUS EFFECTS

OF

LOOSE PRINCIPLES

CONSIDERED.

Being a Supplement to the Treatise on the Second Sight.

THE source of this dismal distemper of the mind, manifestly arises from the corrupt fountain of a vicious or neglected education, which insinuates itself through the several stages of life, and strongly accompanies the unfortunate sufferer to his grave. The mind of all men, at the first dawn of reason, is alike tender and pliable; and, in that raw condition, whatever impression it receives of vice or virtue, seldom fails to exert itself in conformity thereto thereafter, unless some extraordinary circumstance breaks in upon it, which is not to be expected, as it is next to a miracle. The influence of education and habit, stand uncontested in all ages and countries; so that Lycurgus, the wise Lacedæmonian lawgiver, being sensible of its effects, gave a notable instance of the prevalent force of custom, to his countrymen, which I take the liberty to insert, as related by Plutarch: he took two whelps of the same litter, and ordered them to be bred in a different manner; a while thereafter, he took occasion, in an assembly of the people, to discourse of what great advantage the customary practice of wholesome instruction and precepts, was to the attainment of virtue; in the close of his harangue he told them, that, to convince them the more, he would make an appeal to their own senses; and let them see a demonstration of his words by example. Upon this, the two whelps were ordered to be brought into the hall, and there being set down to them a dish of fragments and a live hare, one of the dogs immediately, as he was bred, run at the hare, and the other as greedily devoured the fragments: while the people were racking their brains to find out the moral of this singular proceeding; this, says Lycurgus, is pursuant to what I before told you: for you see these dogs do as they were bred; and though both are of the same litter, yet the diversity of breeding hath made the one, a good hound, and the other a contemptible cur, good for nothing but to lick pots and dishes. ——This leads me to consider how unreasonable it is to expect, that the delicate youth, who now buy commissions in the British army, that are brought up in the height of luxury, and the fashionable vices of the age, by which their minds are enervated, and their bodies enfeebled, should be equally fit for the service of their king and country, with those veterans, who, of a stamp with the Macedonian Argyraspides, are brought up with hardships and inured to the toils of war.

The glittering beaux, before-mentioned, must excuse me to think the latter would, with all alacrity, tread in the glorious paths of honour they have been accustomed to so early, and rush at all hazards on the enemies of Britain; while the dressy brilliant gentleman of the city, such as Pompey led at Pharsalia, would turn their backs on the enemy, to storm Champaign at night, and feast in a sound skin on the beloved flesh-pots of Egypt. Since, then, so much depends on education, great care should be taken to form the minds of children early to the principles of religion, which alone (besides the importance of it in other respects) directs mankind to yield obedience to lawful magistrates, to be honest in our dealing; and, in so far as we are able, to defend our just properties, and, *vi et armis*, to promote the interest and glory of the kingdom or state to which we belong. The bias should be set right at first, and the mind prepossessed for the interest of virtue; this is the way to smooth the passage to a happy life, to reconcile appetite with reason, aud render the affections more manageable ever afterwards. Motion is strongly directed, and the bent taken from the first impression: custom will make a good practice as easy as a bad one: for, as in childhood the memory is strong, and the body capable of application, the mind not yet overcharged with cares; the power of interest not grown up, and the baits of pleasure hung much out of sight, the youth is unseized with the prevalence of habit and the mischievous infection of ill company. Vice, if we believe the general complaint, ripens so fast now a-days, and runs up to seed so early in young people, that it requires the utmost caution to preserve them from the contagion. The first, but certain consequence of the want of a virtuous education, is, that the youth becomes the public mark of contempt and derision; the follies he cannot, by the bare force of unassisted nature, smother or correct, lay him open to the observation, and thence to the malicious detraction, of company: all their wit is employed to sound his want of understanding; and when his weakness has betrayed him to the enemy, they most ungenerously insult the wretch, and make him the subject of their mirth and raillery. The unfortunate youth, finding himself in this bad situation, and thus vilified, to retrieve his credit, perhaps with rakes and sharpers (a throng company, easy to be met with), he launches out into the wide ocean of shocking extravagancies, and most daring impieties, until he becomes better qualified for bedlam than to serve in any station civil or military. Should a person thus accoutred, of which I am afraid there are too many, by his own or friends' interest, procure a commission to serve by sea or land, what could be expected from such united endowments, but loss, shame and disappointments? and therefore it would be most worthy of the care and inquiry of the state, to suppress the pernicious practice of traffic for commissions, by any of whatever rank or denomination; and to enact, that henceforth we conform to the wise regulations of other nations, who only bestow preferments on merit and experience; which, with all due submission, I think, is sufficiently momentous to attract the attention of the legislative power. Since I have mounted the pulpit, and commenced a preacher, I must observe, that there is another great evil under the sun, that some who have liberal education, and make tolerable progress in science, philosophy and the belles lettres, on any sudden change of state, and opposition to their favourite political system, exert the utmost bent of their natural and acquired parts, to instil loose and unsettled principles in mankind, with a malicious view, not only to derogate from the authenticity of the sacred oracles, but to revile morality, unhinge government, banter all laws divine and human, and in a word, reduce the world to its primitive chaos, which confessedly would become the natural consequence of a general depravation of manners. A certain person of quality, who lived in Utopia, in the days of yore, was distinguished with superior talents, and though possessed as he was of all advantages that human literature can add to a philosophic mind, yet seemed apparently to be a melancholy example of this amazing cast of thought, who, to preserve his credit with the *literati* of his time, industriously concealed, as much as possible, his resentment, and the inward rancour of his breast, for being degraded, least by divulging and abetting his false philosophy, so repugnant to admitted principles, he should draw on himself, in his lifetime, the just resentment he deserved from all sincere Christians and sound moralists.

The effects of power, revenge, and ambition, are extraordinary and boundless; they blind our faculties, they stagger our resolution, and they subvert our nature. Not all the Metamorphoses of Ovid can produce a parallel to the change that appears in the same man, when he becomes a discontented courtier. However, that the overflowings of his heart might not be smothered, or buried with himself, he ordered his executors, as if he gloried in the performance, to publish his impious principles, which, though delivered in a most elegant style, yet has a manifest tendency to subvert order, and promote atheism and rebellion: *Quis talia fando!* *&c.* There is a strange inclination in mankind after fame, to be thought eminent for qualities that are uncommon; and this may be supposed to be the spring of some men's opposition to the principles of revelation: they think, perhaps, by this means, to pass for persons whose understandings are enlarged from vulgar prejudices; and who, in their pursuit after knowledge, are under no bias, not influenced by custom, human authority, nor by any consideration, but the bare abstract reason and truth of things. Loose principles confessedly are the black school of the most extravagant impieties, viz. a contempt of the glorious author of our being;

disobedience to parents, and lawful magistrates; a tacit disregard to social and moral duties; murder, rapine, cowardice and intemperance, are the genuine offspring of this terrible cast of mind: so that, when any attempts are advanced by such persons, and insidiously adapted, though under a plausible mask, to extirpate reason, nonplus the understanding, and mislead our senses from received opinions; the insolent patrons of such shocking absurdities are to be deemed as a common nuisance, and guarded against as a plague, which would destroy undistinguished, or turn frantic, the whole of our species. Those who favour deistical principles, are commonly observed at first to preach up morality; that, under its covert and sanction, they might veil their infidelity, and not startle their reader, until, with easy transitions, artful words and phrases, they work upon the understanding unwarily to give some assent to their hypothesis: but, on a second review, and careful reading, one will see through the deceit, that *latet anguis in herba*, and be able *digito monstrare, et dicier, Hic est.* What avails title, learning, and a plentiful fortune to a person of any rank, if he ceases to be religious? And if, from a noviciate in bad morals, he becomes a graduate in irreligion; if, from a deserved disregard to his ministerial capacity, he turns a discontented courtier; and, in this state of humiliation, to gratify his revenge, plans and instills wanton bold schemes, subversive of the rights and liberties of his countrymen: when such a person is a professed advocate for infidelity, and endeavours to sap religion, and a constitution which he ought to defend with the last drop of his blood, would not such a minister be fitter, and much better qualified, to plan and preside in the cabinet of Pluto, than to enjoy a share of administration in the senate, or any other Christian society?

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE

TREATISE

ON

THE SECOND SIGHT.

SOLOMON, the wisest Prince of his time, and of most experience, says, "It is better to be in the house of mourning than laughter:" intimating thereby, that viewing the corpse of a departed friend or acquaintance, raises in the mind of man an awful contemplation of his original and exit; to put him in mind, that after death comes judgment; which ought to excite his devotion, and draw his attention to make due preparation against the great, the solemn day of final retribution, by baulking the strong solicitations of criminal appetites, which lead to perdition: instead of which, we should turn our thoughts, and bend our utmost efforts to lead a holy course of life, during our short pilgrimage, before the curtain is removed, and that we enter all at once into a new world of eternal duration. This conduct, the wise, the inspired preacher, after he had considered, and well weighed every thing under the sun, and found them but emptiness and vanity, declares incomparably more profitable than to join in profuse mirth, revels, and all manner of voluptuous excesses, which unbend the mind, dethrone reason, give a loose, and open the flood-gates to all intemperance; and thus the man in this bad situation, is brought on a level with the brutal world; those paltry enjoyments have rendered him unmindful of any higher speculations than those enticing scenes, which, in the midst of luxury, occupy his senses. These instances which follow, though they were not wanted to confirm the truth of the Second Sight; yet, as they mostly turn on warning to the living, to prepare for death, and are the same in substance to support my hypothesis, I hope they will not be unacceptable to the serious part of my readers; and for those that are not so, it is not my aim to please them; they will, perhaps, find their taste much better regaled from Arabian or Turkish tales, than from any plain apocalyptical discoveries, ancient or modern.

PATRICK MACCASKILL,

an honest country farmer, of good report with all his neighbours, who deserves credit as much as any churchman of the most unblemished morals, and is mentioned in the body of this treatise, declared to me, that, in the evening before the Earl of Loudon attempted to surprise the young Pretender, at the castle of Moy, Donald Maccrummen, piper to the independant company, (commanded by the young Laird of Macleod,) talked with him on the street of Inverness, where they were under arms, to march, they did not know whither, as their expedition was kept a secret: and that, after the said Donald, a goodly person, six feet high, parted with him about pistol-shot, he saw him all at once contracted to the bigness of a boy of five or six years old, and immediately, with the next look, resume his former size. The same night Maccrummen was accidently shot dead on their long march, which concluded the operation of that night's enterprize.

The same person informed me, that, being a soldier in the corps commanded by the old laird of MacLeod, at the unfortunate skirmish of Inverury, one Normand MacLeod, a serjeant of their corps, fell in discourse with him, after returning from viewing some posts supposed to be occupied by the enemy; and that, notwithstanding the serjeant was of a ruddy plump complexion, he appeared to him then of a ghastly aspect, his eyes sunk in their sockets, and all his visage pale as death; and, with a second look, saw him recover his bloom, which was pure red and white. In less than an hour thereafter, they were alarmed with the enemy's fire, and having come to an action, which lasted several hours, the serjeant for some time maintained an unequal fight against two or three, but, in the end, being overpowered, fell among the slain: which verified the Second Sight and presage, seen by him before the engagement.

The same person further relates, that when he was tenant in Lourgill, he removed his bed in a warm summer's season to a little cabin at some distance from his dwelling-house, to have the benefit of a more cool and free air; and that, after going to bed, he heard a noise at his bed-foot of sawing and hewing timber, which, though, it surprised him, as he was alone, yet was he in noways seized with fear. For eight nights following he was entertained with the same disagreeable noise, which much disturbed his rest; at the end of which, a child, that had been born to him a few weeks before, departed this life; and as he had not a wright at hand, he himself made his coffin in that part of his little cabin where he had so oft heard a noise: but without recollecting that circumstance until the coffin was finished, but then remembered the whole; and, as he heard no such noise thereafter in that spot, concluded the whole a presage and completion of the noise which so much disturbed his repose.

MARION GHEARR.

Donald MacCaskill, tenant in Glendale, with whose probity I am intimately acquainted, informed me, that when he was a servant to Alexander MacLeod, tacksman of Brucairre, one Donald Martin, his fellow-servant and companion in the same house, had got Katharine MacLeod (sister to the landlord) with child; and that, thereafter, Marion Ghearr, a notable Seer, coming into the house at night, as she passed a partition, fell on the floor and fainted away; the people of the house having taken care of her, inquired after she recovered, (as she was wont to see the Second Sight,) if she saw it at that time; she told she had; and that, as she entered, she saw two corpses stretched to the dales that stood in the partition, which gave her such a fright as made her drop on floor. Soon thereafter the above Katherine MacLeod died in labour, without being delivered, and those dales were employed for her coffin.

MARION NIN DHONILL.

The said Donald further declares, that Marion Nin Dhonill, then living in Scornandaine, for twelve years before the event happened, saw a corpse overlaid with black cloth, carried up by half a dozen of men in a narrow pass of a rock; which was after verified, by a woman having tumbled down a steep rock, where she had been gathering some herbs for the use of a sick person: her neighbours having missed, and observed her going that way, pursued her track, and, within a few hours thereafter, found her dead on the shore, and were obliged, with some difficulty, to carry her corpse up the said narrow pass: according to the Seer's prediction, and the testimony of severals still in life, whom I examined.

ALEXANDER DINGWALL,

an honest tenant in Waternish, in September, 1761, contracted the bloody-flux, accompanied with a most violent grinding: towards the end of said month he went out a little before day, to look about his corn in the corn-yard; as he was returning to his house he heard very grievous lamentations, which appeared to him to begin at the end of his own house, and continued, as he imagined, all the way to the shore. How soon he came in he told all to his wife and children; his stepdaughter, who came in just before him, said, as that morning had a raw frost, the voice which he heard must be that of a fox, to cause dogs run after to give him heat: no, child, said Alexander, it is my spirit or ghost, and I will never set a foot on green grass more. This was seen verified, his disease increasing so fast and violent upon him, that in eight or ten days he departed this life, and the mourning of his wife, children, and friends, accompanied his corpse from the door to the shore, (about a quarter of a mile,) where it was put in the boat to be interred at Killmuir.

ELIZABETH DINGWALL,

daughter to the above Alexander, a child about five years old, as she was washing her face and hands, beginning of harvest last, cried out to her mother, saying, see, mother, the house is on fire: her mother and all the family looking that way, could see no such thing; she reproved the child for surprising them with lies; but the child still persisted in her affirmation. In less than two hours thereafter, a neighbouring women coming in with some shingles of barley to be dried on the small kiln, that stood under the very place where the child saw the house on fire, soon set both kiln and house in a flame, which they soon extinguished: and at the same time verified the child's vision, within two hours after she saw it.

DONALD MACKINNON,

an honest tenant in Halistra in Waternish, relates, that in harvest 1760, in the dusk of the evening, as he was binding and putting together corn, on the sudden he saw a neighbour of his foremost, and followed by a pretty throng gathering of people, carrying a corpse directly through a standing corn field of his own, which he was not well pleased at; however, through fear that it might be a vision, he did not chuse to challenge his neighbour. He told what he had seen to his wife and family when he came home, saying, if it was a vision it would undoubtedly be verified ere long; and, to satisfy his mind concerning what he had seen, went early next morning to view the standing corn, to see if any of it was trode down, but not one stalk. About the same time next year, he saw his neighbour, the company, and corpse in reality, coming through the same field from Grishirnish, to bury it at the churchyard of Trumpan.

The said Donald relates, that spring last, as he was refining *Aqua Vitæ* at Halan, he went out of the brew-house in the gloaming, in order to draw water; no sooner had he set out his head, than he saw a throng company, with a corpse on a bier, at the distance of a musket-shot; as they drew nearer him, he imagined to have heard them speaking together, but could not discern distinct words. He saw one man at a pretty good distance before the rest; and when they came to the little rivulet that runs by the side of the brew-house, he knew the foremost man to be Neil MacLeod ground-officer. He ran in with great fear, nor waiting to do what he went out for; and as he was drawing his water in the house, the people within asked him why he did not p—s without; he told them what he had seen and heard put him in that fright. Just eight days thereafter a woman died at Risagan, (about a quarter of a mile's distance,) pretty suddenly, and her corpse was carried with all the circumstances above-narrated, Niell MacLeod, officer, keeping the distance, as seen, half-way to the churchyard.

ALEXANDER MACLEOD,

in lower Halan, (a discreet modest young man,) narrates, that in winter last, as he was sitting alone in the brew-house taking notice to the working of his ale, and boiling his small beer, as he looked to one of the working-stands, he saw a corpse full stretched on a dale, on the mouth of said vessel, in its winding-sheet. This sight put him into great fear, so that he went out in order to get the company of some person to stay with him for that night: no sooner he had set his head out of the door, than he heard a voice making great moaning; he listened thereto so long that he imagined he knew the person whose voice it was; he immediately turned into the house again, as knowing all the people were asleep a while before that time of night: next day he told what he had seen and heard to severals, but concealed the person's name; yet said, he was sorry it would prove true ere long. Very soon thereafter, an honest, discreet, pious woman in the neighbourhood, contracted the bloody flux whereof she died, and the *Aqua Vitæ* of that very brewing was that used at her funeral. The said Alexander then confessed he knew it was her voice he heard.

A soldier that belonged to Colonel Campbell's Highland regiment, (formerly and now my servant,) informed me, that there lives in a town which he named Linkirk, in the Prussian territories, an old man, a shoemaker by trade, who, for the course of three years running, saw frequently, by the Second Sight, a corps of men in a very strange garb, marching under arms, with banners displayed, and music which he never heard the like of, towards their town; and that, upon the said regiment's approach to that place, with drums beating, pipes playing, and colours flying, the shoemaker, upon hearing the pipes, threw by his work, ran to the street, crying out, that was the music he had so often heard; and upon seeing the men, told these that were in company, "These are the strangers of uncommon dress, and this the music that I have so often heard these three years bygone; and will, I doubt not, much contribute to bring about a speedy peace." My informer heard the man speak, but as he did not understand his language, the pay-master of his corps explained what the Seer said to him and many others of the men. My informer, who has no temptation to lie, frequently saw the Seer, heard him talk of his vision, and several of the inhabitants bearing testimony to his prediction, as was explained to my informer.

John MacColgan, who lived in Husebost, some years ago, coming on a visit to Hammer, was invited to stay there that night; having gone off next day, an old Seer, who had come accidentally to the family, told Mrs. MacLeod, she would have no more visits from the said gentleman, as she had seen him, the preceding night, covered over with his winding-sheet, almost to the crown of his head. In less than a quarter of a year he went to Edinburgh, to consult for a chronical ailment he had in his leg, for which, being put under salivation, the cure did not succeed, so that in a few days he departed this life, thereby verifying the prediction before he set out on his journey.

In spring last, a poor young boy, of a singular disposition to piety, far beyond his years, according to the testimony of all that knew him, was with his aunt, a blind woman, on the island of Bernera in Harris, and being lodged with one Donald MacKenzie, who then had severals in his family lying under a bloody flux, which was then epidemic in that country, at night as the boy sat with the domestics, he turned sickly and pale; whereupon he went out of the house; and when he returned, being asked if he was well? said he was, but that he saw a little corpse stretched on the landlord's knees; which sight, being to him uncommon, gave him such a fright as made him withdraw; and after he had gone out, observed a gathering at the door with a little coffin, which they carried to a spot at a little distance, where they set it on a bier; and that he stuck his stick in that spot, to know if the event would correspond with what he seen. Some went out with him to the part where he had fixed his stick; and afterwards in a few days, Donald MacKenzie's child (which then lay sick) died: and every circumstance was fulfilled according to the above prediction. The boy himself died since, after his return to Sky, regretted by his poor relations and neighbours, who all agreed, they had not seen, at any time, one of his years, more promising, or of a more innocent deportment.

This instance I could not omit, as it is attested to me beyond contradiction, which, with two or three more instances mentioned in the above collections, seen by young creatures, makes it manifest, that revelation in this way, is neither ceased, nor confined to age, sex, or condition; but that the glorious Creator of mankind, according to his infinite goodness and unerring wisdom, is pleased to continue those awful and amazing exertions of his power, to declare his will, out of the mouths of striplings, who cannot be supposed, of design, to contrive stories, and pass a cheat on mankind, as their discoveries are attended with such circumstances, as leave no room for any such conjecture. Whatever influence they may have with others, the artless, undesigning discoveries of those raw striplings, not attained to the age for the more ripe contrivances of manhood, is of equal weight with me, as if a person should arise from the dead to confirm the credit of the Deuteroscopia.

Vis unita, fortior, concordia nutrit amorem.

Dr. Lobb having inserted in one of Lloyd's Evening Posts, a paper concerning the soul of man, I here present the reader with his reasonings, and my remarks thereupon.

THAT there is a living principle in every being, under whatever size or modification, that moves spontaneously, is acknowledged by all, and denied by no person that enjoys the use of his reason; but this vivifying property is by no means to be taken in the same sense with the scriptural and general notion we have of the soul of man, as the first may cease to exist, but the latter, being of a spiritual nature, is incapable of being dissolved or annihilated. I have been led into this speculation, from a paper I perused inserted in Lloyd's Evening Post, vol. xii. numb. 883, in which the author makes a distinction betwixt the spirit and soul of man, which, as it will not bear a strict examination, I take the liberty to set down the paragraphs which he chiefly lays stress upon, to support his favourite tenets. "The remaining constituent part of a man, that is, the soul (or that power of life which is exercised in performing holy actions,) should have a distinct or separate consideration; because the divine revelation distinguishes it from the spirit and from the body, 1 Thess. v. 23." And then proceeds, "That the spirit and soul are not one and the same thing, is not only evident, from the Apostles representing them as different and distinct; but will be likewise manifest from the following fact, namely, That the spirit lives after the soul (or the divine life exercised in performing holy actions) dies, or ceases to exist; which is the case in all the natural productions of Adam." This, by the by, without offering any proof, is but *gratis dictum*, and a plain begging of the question. He closes his paper with a quotation from Mat. xvi. 26. Since Mr. Lobb is pleased to build the new tenet he has started, upon the authority of two texts of scripture, unwarrantably applied, I choose to take the liberty to parry with him with his own weapons, and point out a few texts of many in the holy oracles, which the reader may peruse at his leisure, which gives the soul in a just, but different light from what Dr. Lobb thinks fit to exhibit. Gen. xlix. 6. The royal psalmist, Psal. ciii. civ. 1. Apocalypse vi. 9. and xx. 4. In the two last St. John expressly speaks of the souls of saints emerged from their bodies. If Mr. Lobb, or any that adopts his uncommon opinion, (if such there be,) is not satisfied with the testimony of these great men, divinely inspired; sure he cannot refuse to leave it to the decision of Jesus Christ, who, I presume, knew best all distinctions. And if Mr. Lobb is thus condescending, as I hope he is, he will find the divine teacher of mankind (in the very scripture he quotes, in the close of his paper, to establish his false hypothesis) asserting the soul of man, in respect of its eternal duration, of greater dignity, comparatively, than the whole material world, with all its paltry gratifications: "For what is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul, &c. Matt. xvi. 26." But besides all that is already observed, Mr. Lobb has forgot how much it is still the common practice of mankind, in their respective language and vocation, to make use of synonymous terms, and express one thing under different names; for example, ghost, soul, spirit, snake, adder, serpent, to which thousands might be added in every country, where not only things, but men and women of rank pass under two or three, and perhaps more names, as the party chooses. And seeing every person is at liberty to express his meaning in his own way, I see no reason why the elegant, and, which is more, the inspired apostle, may not claim the same privilege, and not be misrepresented for assuming a liberty of speech that is common, which every person makes use of, without censure. And though this author, who may be a good man otherwise, intended to add weight to his opinion, by giving his age to the public, he might have considered, that years, though equal to those of Methusalem, cannot justify a mistake, no more than novelty (how plausible soever,) can give sanction to error; notwithstanding my favourable and charitable opinion of Dr. Lobb, I cannot help thinking, that he moved quite out of his sphere, by diving into divinity, instead of applying to his own province in physic. His opinion on I. Thess. v. 23, must proceed either from ignorance or pride; if from ignorance, it is to be considered, that he mistook soul and spirit for the affections and actions of the soul, and should have divided those affections into superior and inferior faculties; the superior faculties or affections are love, understanding, knowledge, memory, will, conscience, &c. And, will the Doctor, or any reasonable man think, that these affections will cease after the dissolution of the body? the inferior, are the passions, affections, and appetites of the soul while in the body; and if those are they which Mr. Lobb says will cease after death, he discovers too much of pride, in pretending to find out a plain truth, which no christian will deny, and in which the holy scripture is very explicit, and which can be of no other use, moral or theological, than to stagger the faith of weak and unwary christians. And now since, from revelation, we find the dignity and immortality of the soul is asserted, as well as from our own observation and inward conviction, let us not be faint-hearted, or stop our course heavenward, but, in this state of our probation, run with joy the race that is set before us; for which purpose, to dry the tears of anguish from the afflicted eye, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, are the surest passports we can have to secure our passage into the world of spirits, and live in it completely happy to all eternity. After I had finished the above remarks, I found, by looking into Lloyd's Evening Post, vol. 12, No. 889, I am prevented by a clergyman, who, with great accuracy, and indeed unanswerable arguments, has asserted the soul's immortality; but in regard, he agrees, that man is composed of a trinity of principles, in allusion to the ever blessed Trinity in the Godhead, I beg leave to dissent from him and Mr. Lobb, for the reasons I have already observed, which appear to me very conclusive.

Copy Letter, the Reverend Mr. Malcolm MacCaskil, Minister of the Small Islands,

TO THE AUTHOR.

"DEAR SIR,

"Yours of the 28th current, I with the greatest pleasure perused, and will contribute my power to give you all the materials, vouched only by persons of undoubted veracity and established character. I am just taking my boat for the Small Isles, and have no time on hand; whenever I arrive in my dominions, I intend to go to Arisaig, and will have the relation of the black man, or O——— N——— from the very foundation, which will be sent you with other collections. I wish, from the bottom of my heart, that some of my cloth would carry themselves with more decency towards their superiors in most branches of literature, and call to mind that they are only sacred while in the pulpit. But the plain truth is, to tell it to my friend H—r, as they cannot come up to your towering genius, they endeavour to pull down your well connected scheme. Go on and prosper, amidst the sneers and ill-nature of parsons and factors. Let U—h study his droving, and may he grope all his days about the tails of his cows and stots, as his genius leads that way, and was born for no higher lucubrations. Let your P—n examine his bible, and if he peruses it with attention, unless he has put on the firmest resolution of remaining an infidel, I should have rather said an apostate, he must cry *Peccavi.* I am in hurry. Rundonnan, his wife, and mine, offer their most unfeigned and sincerest compliments to Mr. MacLeod, Miss Mally, and the common friend of mankind, H—r; and believe me to be, dear Sir, your much obliged, and most humble servant,

"MALCOLM MACCASKIL.

Rundonnan, July 29, 1763.

"P. S. I am surprised that people professing christianity, will believe nothing but what is comprehended by our vitiated reason and weak judgment; this argues the height of pride or ignorance."

Copy Letter, the Reverend Mr. Normand Morison, Minister of Uigg, in Lewis,

TO THE AUTHOR.

"HONOURED SIR,

"Yours, of the 30th March last, came yesterday to my hands, and I am much refreshed to know, that you are continued in the land of the living, to see your curious performance, as it is the fruit of a fertile spirit, come the length of the press. To the letter you was pleased to send me when at last synod, I returned answer from Razay, willing to join your subscribers. I told it to Razay upon my way homewards, and assuring you, that there are none but myself in my parish to use the book, so would not sign for it. I have signed for a copy of it bound. Wishing you, lady and family, all happiness, I am, honoured Sir, your most affectionate friend and humble servant in sincerity.

"NORMAND MORISON."

Bailnakill, May 9, 1763.

Copy Letter, the Reverend Mr. Martin MacPherson, Minister of Golspie, in Sutherland,

TO THE AUTHOR.

"DEAR SIR,

"A few days ago, I received the copy of your letter of September last, with your proposals for printing the Deuteroscopia by subscription. The original letter, as you have justly conjectured, is lost, and you may believe, if it had come to hand, I could not possibly be so insensible to the undeserved honour you do me, as not to attempt, at least, to make the best return that my heavy pen is capable of; and if I have transgressed in writing you so seldom, since I settled in Sutherland, you may depend on it, that has proceeded entirely from a consciousness of my inability, to say any thing that might be entertaining to you: meantime, I think it unnecessary to dissemble or deny, that I did throw a paragraph into a letter to W—e, in which I slightly touched a comparison betwixt you and Voltaire, in the extent and vivacity of your genius; and in that in which you both stand without rival among the virtuosi, ancient and modern; I mean your being invulnerable to all the darts of time, and impregnable to all the accidents and calamities from which there is no exemption in this life, and which generally prey on men of the bravest spirits, most serene minds, and most extensive understanding, in the intricate, but connected system of this world. *Tempus edax rerum*, may, and must affect your bodies; but his corrosive and all devouring teeth, have not been able to make any perceptible impression on the reigning lord within * * * * * . I will not offend your delicacy, by setting you quite on a level with these the first sons of renown; but, in my judgment, you will sit near them; you will never be separated from * * * * * . Could I pretend to draw you in your full features, I must readily acknowledge Voltaire would not be the person I would fix upon, as a congenial soul to you. He has too much bitterness, levity, and presumption, foibles that have been removed from you as far as either pole. The one I would pitch upon, as the man of your right hand, would be the polite, the elegant, the philosophical, and poetical Fenelon, I call him poetical, though, for ought I know, he never wrote one verse; for where is that epic composition that can boast of so much correctness, and majesty together, as his Telemaque! And though your modesty makes you say, that you are not now so much inclined, or so agile, for climbing the heights of Parnassus, you will permit me to think, at least, that your pegasus can never be galloped to death.——But not to sully the most elevated parts of your character with my blunt pencil, I am sorry to observe how unfriendly the turn of the present age is, to the work you have with so much labour and assiduity compiled, for the benefit and reformation of your foolish and deluded countrymen. An age, more stained with impiety and infidelity, never blackened the British annals; and a work calculated for discovering, and reclaiming the errors, and iniquities of the times, will have many, and almost innumerable difficulties to grapple with, before it can force its way into the light. Nothing but an *esprit frivole* prevails; nothing but the Fairy Queen, ludicrous tales, novels and farces, can hit at this juncture; such a grave and entertaining work as yours, has the whole passions and pretended interests of mankind at this time to subdue, which the men of first genius that ever appeared, have found it to be no easy task: I am persuaded, that it is your knowledge and experience of this vitiated turn in the age, that has led you to think of publishing by subscription, which is a mortifying circumstance for an author of character, who must be conscious his labours deserve the countenance and encouragement of the world; I say, it is mortifying for an author of merit, to be obliged to puddle, in procuring and promoting a subscription for a performance, that should at once get him some hundreds from the printer or stationer; but good sense will easily teach one to bear a disappointment of this kind, who knows what a shameful pittance the original papers of Milton's immortal Paradise Lost have been sold for. You may believe, if you persist in gathering subscriptions, that I shall most cheerfully exert myself, though you have not dignified my name among the promoters of this work; but I am sorry to observe, that it will not be in my power to procure many subscribers. The act of the British

Parliament against putting witches to death, or torture, was owing to one of these good women, who was burnt in the soles, and hanged in this place, about thirty or odd years ago; and you cannot imagine what influence that act of the British Senate has had on the minds of the people, who have drawn conclusions from it, that were never supposed by the law-makers: those particularly among us, that should be the encouragers of men and works of merit, seem to admire the wisdom of the houses of Parliament, in this instance, at least, as much as the sacred oracles themselves, and have wisely inferred from this act, that there is no such thing as a communication, or agency of spirits on our minds or senses. I am sorry you did not see the Bishop of Ossory in his travels through Scotland: that learned prelate, who has almost made the tour of Europe, Asia and Africa, was particularly fond to inquire into every thing that ascertained and threw light on the Second Sight; and I persuade myself, if you corresponded with him, that he would give a round sum for your lucubrations, and give them to the world in the history of his travels through Scotland, which he is now writing out for the press. He is a famous man in the learned world, and was, on that account sent, at the public's expense, to travel, long before the merit of his discoveries gained him the mitre; and I must acknowledge, I should have much higher joy in seeing you transmitted to posterity, hand in hand with Dr. Pocock, than in the way of publishing by subscription. You may easily correspond with the Bishop of Ossory, by sending your letters to a friend at London, who will see them into the Irish bag, if his Lordship happens not to be at London, where he is generally in the winter, or when he happens not to be immediately engaged in travelling. My friend begs to be remembered most respectfully to you, and you will please make my best compliments acceptable to your Lady, and Miss Mally. I am, with esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

"MARTIN MACPHERSON."

Golspie, February 15, 1762.

Remarks on Mr. Wilkes, and his Writings.

Dicturus de Domino Wilkes; opto mihi stylum mordacem, immo Persii aut Juvenalis mordaci rem, ut dente Theonino Lernæam hanc Hydram malorum confoderem; cujus deformitate non tetrior unquam, Stygiis sese extulit undis.

There is no tenet so absurd, no opinion so extravagant, but always will find an advocate; such is the pernicious itch of novelty, inherent to human nature, since the very first of the species; if this distemper of the mind is but artfully introduced, under the plausible veil of Liberty. And what right the subject has, not only to murmur, but complain of any fancied shadow, though groundless of pretended encroachment by the legislative power and ministry, upon the established laws of the land. And yet, how often has it appeared from the annals of time, among the Greeks and Romans, attended with fatal convulsions of state? and as much in South Britain as any where. That these present disturbers of peace and order, had not the common tranquillity so much in their eye, or softened in their narrow avaricious hearts, as their own dear little Interest, to which they have too frequently, to gratify their stubborn passions, sacrificed all the ties of humanity, and what they owe to God, their king, and their country. By looking over the uncommon pestilential entertainment, exhibited to the public by the intrepid Mr. W—s in a weekly paper, which he names the N. B., one can scarcely refrain from giving some faith to the metempsychosis, so much insisted on by Pythagoras in his system of philosophy; and that a being who lived long a salamander, dropt that existence, to animate the person of the avowed author of the N. B. Whatever may have happened of this without having recourse to fiction or new opinion started from an uncertain principle, we may judge from his laborious literary performances, which are reckoned the best chart of a man's mind and disposition, and shall find him so expert and complete a master in fire-work, that the blaze of his art already exhibited, may, like the tail of a lowering comet, kindle a part of our British hemisphere, unless a seasonable stop is put to the rapidity of its progress. *Divide et impera*, is a standard political maxim, broached or renewed by Machiavel; and ever since, when exerted with address and spirit, never fails of good success, by the indisputable test of experience; its operations, indeed, are various and powerful; they unhinge government; divide nations united, by the strongest bonds of law and interest; absolve a subject from his allegiance to his sovereign, guardian of the law, and the beloved father and friend of his people; separate man and wife; teach children to be disobedient to parents, and lawful magistrates; foment divisions, foster factions, lead to intestine war, and make long strides to confusion, anarchy, and rebellion. It will not be denied by the majority of both nations, that Mr. W—s has acted in this sphere: the first display of his artillery appeared against the Earl of Bute, and as if that minister was too inconsiderable a subject for the inbred rancour of his mind, he, in the next place, discharged repeated platoons of froth, ribaldry, and Billingsgate language, against the whole Scottish nation, without exception. As to my Lord Bute, I believe his most virulent enemies, Mr. W—s excepted, that are governed by candour and common discretion, will not offer to brand him with the ridiculous stuff, and nasty imputations unworthy of a slave, set forth in the N. B., since he more truly deserves to be considered as a nobleman, whose distinguished merit has raised him to the royal favour, without having at any times recourse to any mean, or ignoble art, to further his advancement. And as he was very sensible of the honour and preferment bestowed upon him by the sovereign, he, out of duty and gratitude to his royal benefactor, as well as from a strong and undeviating attachment to the true interest of Britain, discharged with equal zeal and diligence, all the talents requisite in a great minister, to assist in sheathing the sword, already glutted with human gore, and bring on a glorious peace, to the honour and profit of Great Britain: a peace by which we have such an extent of territories ceded to us for ever by our greatest enemies, as will busy our utmost efforts to plant and improve them for succeeding generations; and consequently, gives a fair opportunity to employ the most of our disbanded land-forces and naval powers, to the interest of our traffic and revenue; by which we may hope, not only the crown will be enabled to pay off its debts, but every individual, according to his rank, will share in the sweet influences of it to all posterity. If any unguarded step, or misconduct, has happened in any of the articles of peace while it was in agitation, which, through inadvertency, and other causes, may fall out in any council or judicature, composed of many or few; is that escape to be laid at the door of the minister, who, if he had a mind to be partial, or betray his trust, might easily be detected, silenced or overruled? and is it not the height of injustice to the reputation of a consummate statesman, and zealous patriot, above the power of corruption, to tarnish his character for what did not depend upon him to foresee, suspect or prevent; for no other reason, than his being born a Scotchman? This nobleman, conscious of his own innocency, and unwearied application to promote the common cause, did not choose to enter the lists with such a dirty fellow; and yet, well he knew, that while he moved in such a high sphere, by the bounty of his royal master, he must draw upon himself many envious exhalations, capable to draw a cloud over the brightest merit and integrity. If we follow Mr. W—s description of Scotchmen, they are no better all over the kingdom than a race of abandoned mortals, miserably poor and prone to rebellion; in his style, little different from the wildest savages, if it be not that they live in houses, and do not go stark naked. I, that am a South Briton, and tenacious of that distinction, almost to partiality, must beg leave to differ from my brother countryman, to allow our good neighbours on the other side the Tweed, the same strength and elevation of mind, with those who live in our most southern countries; and that they arrive at as great insight in the liberal arts and sciences, as any the most illustrious character in any nation whatever. And as for bravery and martial conduct, they are allowed to equal the most warlike nations in Europe, as they have put a stop to the Roman eagles, after they had been victorious, and deemed invincible through the greatest part of the known world. If we look back on their conduct, we shall find, at some periods, a part of them taking up arms against the state, from being either neglected by the government, practised upon, or misled by desperate discontented courtiers, for which they have justly paid very dear. But how can we in England, with a good grace, throw a stone at our neighbours, seeing we ourselves are chargeable with the same mad follies; and have now and then, since William the Conqueror's time, run to arms, to espouse a very lame pretention to our crown, or the interest of Warbeck and Perkin, two as great impostors as ever beheld the sun? Nor is it an old story to trace, when our own intestine divisions fomented by faction, made rivers of blood flow in England, under the specious pretence of liberty, from the spade to the sceptre. And may God forbid, that any desperate hireling should, by his venal pen, kindle a coal to renew these tragical scenes, which are easier begun than extinguished.

When it pleased our present most gracious Sovereign, from his paternal care of his subjects in general, to bestow marks of his royal favour and esteem on Scotchmen, and giving them commands in the army; they made it soon appear, his majesty was not disappointed, as they have, with the loss of their blood, wherever they were employed, contributed to gather those laurels which will make England dreaded and respected to succeeding ages.

No doubt, princes and ministers stand in need of all imaginable precautions; but after they have exerted their greatest dexterity in their several spheres to promote the public welfare, and had always in their eye, a just regard not to wound the constitution, or wantonly hurt any individual, more than is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the whole: yet they find it impossible, with the utmost stretch of their understanding, to hit on that lucky means and temper to please all men. Some persons find themselves out of their element, when they are not in, to the head and ears, in wrangling and litigation. They invert the beatitude pronounced by our Saviour, "Blessed are the peace-makers!" and, in their language, would rather say, blessed are those who create discord. A notable instance of this terrible cast of mind, has started up as from a magical circle, in a member of the House of Commons; and, what is still more lamentable, this roaring lion seeking whom he may devour, by an artful setting off his hellish spawn, met with the countenance of some, who never meant any harm to their king or country. But as the poison which this viper diffuses, to seize and prey on the vitals of two innocent nations, is so adust, there is no hopes to purge it away by lenitives. And therefore,

————————*Immedicabile vulnus*
Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.

It is great pity Mr. W—s should pass with impunity, parade on paper, and be allowed to keep a printing-press and shop, for vending his poisonous ware always at hand; to thunder out dissatisfaction to his majesty's person and government, and create a misunderstanding betwixt him and his most loyal subjects. Had Mr. Pope been in life, or any one of our celebrated poets, one or other of them would have added this incomparable hero of discord, to the three infernal furies; and would place him foremost in hell, as a fit companion to Tisiphone, Megara, and Alecto; from whence, according to poetical description, they might well imagine, he makes excursions now on earth, only with an execrable intention to destroy, confound, mislead, and disunite mankind. It is true, that all countries have their parties and factions; but there is a certain contagious distemper of this sort, so peculiar to the British island, that, I believe, it is unknown to every other part of the world. It increases our natural gloom, and it makes us so averse to each other, that it keeps men of the best morals, and most social inclinations, in one continued state of warfare and opposition. Must not the source of this malady arise rather from the heart than from the head, from the different operations of our passions, than of our reason?

To conclude these remarks, which admit of finer colourings from a better pencil, to draw the unworthy object which gave them rise, in his just proportion; may not I be allowed to ask, what greater crime against the state, than an avowed attempt to set two neighbouring nations by the ears, that are linked together by choice and interest, confirmed by all the ties and sanction, that the representatives of both kingdoms can give any deed, for their mutual benefit? What punishment can be thought too great, for one who loudly echoes out peals of discord in the ears of his countrymen, and labours all that his fertile brain can invent, to stir up both nations to sheath their swords in one another's bosoms? May not a person that has thus distinguished himself with these extraordinary qualifications, be more justly called the viper of the commonwealth, than a patron or advocate for Liberty?

T. I.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

THE SECOND SIGHT,

In Irish, called Taish.

[*Extracted from Martin's Description of the Western Isles of Scotland.*]

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

THE SECOND SIGHT,

IN IRISH, CALLED TAISH

THE Second Sight is a singular faculty of seeing an otherwise invisible object, without any previous means used by the person that sees it for that end; the vision makes such a lively impression upon the Seers, that they neither see nor think of any thing else, except the vision, as long as it continues: and then they appear pensive or jovial, according to the object which was represented to them.

At the sight of a vision, the eye-lids of the person are erected, and the eyes continue staring until the object vanish. This is obvious to others who are by, when the persons happen to see a vision, and occurred more than once to my own observation, and to others that were with me.

There is one in Sky, of whom his acquaintance observed, that when he sees a vision, the inner part of his eyelids turn so far upwards, that after the object disappears, he must draw them down with his fingers, and sometimes employs others to draw them down, which he finds to be the much easier way.

This faculty of the Second Sight does not lineally descend in a family, as some imagine, for I know several parents who are endowed with it, but their children not, *et vice versa:* neither is it acquired by any previous compact. And after a strict inquiry, I could never learn from any among them, that this faculty was communicable any way whatsoever.

The Seer knows neither the object, time, nor place of a vision, before it appears; and the same object is often seen by different persons, living at a considerable distance from one another. The true way of judging as to the time and circumstance of an object, is by observation; for several persons of judgment, without this faculty, are more capable to judge of the design of a vision, than a novice that is a Seer. If an object appear in the day or night, it will come to pass sooner or later accordingly.

If an object is seen early in a morning (which is not frequent) it will be accomplished in a few hours afterwards. If at noon, it will commonly be accomplished that very day. If in the evening, perhaps that night; if after candles be lighted, it will be accomplished that night: the latter always in accomplishment, by weeks, months, and sometimes years, according to the time of night the vision is seen.

When a shroud is perceived about one, it is a sure prognostic of death: the time is judged according to the height of it about the person; for if it is not seen above the middle, death is not to be expected for the space of a year, and perhaps some months longer; and as it is frequently seen to ascend higher towards the head, death is concluded to be at hand within a few days, if not hours, as daily experience confirms. Examples of this kind were shewn me, when the persons of whom the observations then made enjoyed perfect health.

One instance was lately foretold by a Seer that was a novice, concerning the death of one of my acquaintance; this was communicated to a few only, and with great confidence: I being one of the number, did not in the least regard it, until the death of the person about the time foretold, did confirm me of the certainty of the prediction. The novice mentioned above, is now a skilful Seer, as appears from many late instances; he lives in the parish of St. Mary's, the most northern in Sky.

If a woman is seen standing at a man's left hand, it is a presage that she will be his wife, whether they be married to others, or unmarried at the time of the apparition.

If two or three women are seen at once standing near a man's left hand, she that is next him will undoubtedly be his wife first, and so on, whether all three, or the man be single or married at the time of the vision or not; of which there are several late instances among those of my acquaintance. It is an ordinary thing for them to see a man that is to come to the house shortly after; and if he is not of the Seer's acquaintance, yet he gives such a lively description of his stature, complexion, habit, &c. that upon his arrival he answers the character given him in all respects.

If the person so appearing be one of the Seer's acquaintance, he will tell his name, as well as other particulars; and he can tell by his countenance whether he comes in a good or bad humour.

I have been seen thus myself by Seers of both sexes at some hundred miles distance; some that saw me in this manner, had never seen me personally, and it happened according to their visions, without any previous design of mine to go to those places, my coming there being purely accidental.

It is ordinary with them to see houses, gardens, and trees, in places void of all three; and this in process of time uses to be accomplished: as at Mogstot in the isle of Sky, where there were but a few sorry cow-houses thatched with straw, yet in a few years after, the vision which appeared often was accomplished, by the building of several good houses on the very spot represented to the Seers, and by the planting of orchards there.

To see a spark of fire fall upon one's arm or breast, is a forerunner of a dead child to be seen in the arms of those persons; of which there are several fresh instances.

To see a seat empty at the time of one's sitting in it, is a presage of that person's death quickly after.

When a novice, or one that has lately obtained the Second Sight, sees a vision in the night-time without doors, and comes near a fire, he presently falls into a swoon.

Some find themselves as it were in a crowd of people, having a corps which they carry along with them; and after such visions the Seers come in sweating, and describe the people that appeared: if there be any of their acquaintance among them, they give an account of their names, as also of the bearers, but they know nothing concerning the corps.

All those who have the Second Sight do not always see these visions at once, though they be together at the time. But if one who has this faculty, designedly touch his fellow-seer at the instant of a vision's appearing, then the second sees it as well as the first; and this is sometimes discerned by those that are near them on such occasions.

There is a way of foretelling death by a cry that they call *Taisk*, which some call a *Wraith* in the lowland.

They hear a loud cry without doors, exactly resembling the voice of some particular person, whose death is foretold by it. The last instance given me of this kind was in the village Rigg, in the isle of Sky.

Five women were sitting together in the same room, and all of them heard a loud cry passing by the window; they thought it plainly to be the voice of a maid who was one of the number: she blushed at the time, though not sensible of her so doing, contracted a fever next day, and died that week.

Things also are foretold by smelling, sometimes as follows. Fish or flesh is frequently smelled in a fire, when at the same time neither of the two are in the house, or in any probability like to be had in it for some weeks or months; for they seldom eat flesh, and though the sea be near them, yet they catch fish but seldom in the winter and spring. This smell several persons have, who are not endued with the Second Sight, and it is always accomplished soon after.

Children, horses, and cows, see the Second Sight, as well as men and women advanced in years.

That children see it, is plain from their crying aloud at the very instant that a corps or any other vision appears to an ordinary Seer. I was present in a house where a child cried out of a sudden, and being asked the reason of it, he answered that he had seen a great white thing lying on the board which was in the corner: but he was not believed, until a Seer who was present told them that the child was in the right; for, said he, I saw a corps and the shroud about it, and the board will be used as part of a coffin, or some way employed about a corps: and accordingly, it was made into a coffin, for one who was in perfect health at the time of the vision.

That horses see it, is likewise plain from their violent and sudden starting, when the rider or Seer in company with him sees a vision of any kind, night or day. It is observable of the horse, that he will not go forward that way, until he be led about at some distance from the common road, and then he is in a sweat.

A horse fastened by the common road on the side of Loch-Skerineess in Sky, did break his rope at noon-day, and ran up and down without the least visible cause. But two of the neighbourhood that happened to be at a little distance, and in view of the horse, did at the same time see a considerable number of men about a corps, directing their course to the church of Snisort; and this was accomplished within a few days after, by the death of a gentlewoman who lived thirteen miles from that church, and came from another parish, from whence very few come to Snisort to be buried.

That cows see the Second Sight, appears from this; that when a woman is milking a cow, and then happens to see the Second Sight, the cow runs away in a great fright at the same time, and will not be pacified for some time after.

Before I mention more particulars discovered by the Second Sight, it may not be amiss to answer the objections that have lately been made against the reality of it.

OBJECT. 1. These Seers are visionary and melancholy people, and fancy they see things that do not appear to them, or any body else.

ANSW. The people of these isles, and particularly the Seers, are very temperate, and their diet is simple and moderate in quantity and quality; so that their brains are not in all probability disordered by undigested fumes of meat or drink. Both sexes are free from hysteric fits, convulsions, and several other distempers of that sort; there is no madmen among them, nor any instance of self-murder. It is observed among them, that a man drunk never sees the Second Sight; and he that is a visionary, would discover himself in other things as well as in that; and such as see it, are not judged to be visionaries by any of their friends or acquaintance.

Object. 2. There is none among the learned able to oblige the world with a satisfying account of those visions, therefore it is not to be believed.

Answ. If every thing for which the learned are not able to give a satisfying account be condemned as impossible, we may find many other things generally believed, that must be rejected as false by this rule. For instance yawning, and its influence, and that the loadstone attracts iron; and yet these are true as well as harmless, though we can give no satisfying account of their causes. And if we know so little of natural causes, how much less can we pretend to things that are supernatural?

Object. 3. The Seers are impostors, and the people who believe them are credulous, and easily imposed upon.

Answ. The Seers are generally illiterate, and well-meaning people, and altogether void of design, nor could I ever learn that any of them made the least gain by it, neither is it reputable among them to have that faculty: besides the people of the isles are not so credulous as to believe implicitly, before the thing foretold is accomplished; but when it actually comes to pass afterwards, it is not in their power to deny it, without offering violence to their senses and reason. Besides, if the Seers were deceivers, can it be reasonable to imagine, that all the islanders, who have not the Second Sight, should combine together, and offer violence to their understandings and senses, to force themselves to believe a lie from age to age. There are several persons among them, whose birth and education raise them above the suspicion of concurring with an imposture, merely to gratify an illiterate and contemptible sort of persons; nor can a reasonable man believe that children, horses, and cows, could be pre-engaged in a combination to persuade the world of the reality of the Second Sight.

Such as deny those visions, give their assent to several strange passages in history, upon the authority aforesaid of historians that lived several centuries before our time; and yet they deny the people of this generation the liberty to believe their intimate friends and acquaintance, men of probity and unquestionable reputation, and of whose veracity they have greater certainty, than we can have of any ancient historian.

Every vision that is seen comes exactly to pass, according to the true rules of observation, though novices and heedless persons do not always judge by those rules. I remember the Seers returned me this answer to my objection, and gave several instances to that purpose, whereof the following is one.

A boy of my acquaintance was often surprised at the sight of a coffin close by his shoulder, which put him into a fright, and made him to believe it was a forerunner of his own death, and this his neighbours also judged to be the meaning of that vision; but a Seer that lived in the village Knockow, where the boy was then a servant, told them that they were under a great mistake, and desired the boy to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered; and when he went to a burial, to remember to act as a bearer for some moments: and this he did accordingly, within a few days after, when one of his acquaintance died; and from that time forward he was never troubled with seeing a coffin at his shoulder, though he has seen many at a distance, that concerned others. He is now reckoned one of the exactest Seers in the parish of St. Maries in Sky, where he lives.

There is another instance of a woman in Sky, who frequently saw a vision representing a woman having a shroud about her up to the middle, but always appeared with her back towards her, and the habit in which it seemed to be dressed resembled her own: this was a mystery for some time, until the woman tried an experiment to satisfy her curiosity, which was, to dress herself contrary to the usual way; that is, she put that part of her clothes behind, which was always before, fancying that the vision at the next appearing would be the easier distinguished: and it fell out accordingly, for the vision soon after presented itself with its face and dress looking towards the woman, and it proved to resemble herself in all points, and she died in a little time after.

There are visions seen by several persons, in whose days they are not accomplished; and this is one of the reasons, why some things have been seen that are said never to come to pass, and there are also several visions seen which are not understood until they be accomplished.

The Second Sight is not a late discovery seen by one or two in a corner, or a remote isle, but it is seen by many persons of both sexes in several isles, separated above forty or fifty leagues from one another: the inhabitants of many of these isles, never had the least converse by word or writing; and this faculty of seeing visions, having continued, as we are informed by tradition, ever since the plantation of these isles, without being disproved by the nicest sceptic, after the strictest inquiry, seems to be a clear proof of its reality.

It is observable, that it was much more common twenty years ago than at present; for one in ten do not see it now, that saw it then.

The Second Sight is not confined to the western isles alone, for I have an account that it is likewise seen in several parts of Holland, but particularly in Bommel, by a woman, for which she is courted by some, and dreaded by others. She sees a smoke about one's face, which is a forerunner of the death of a person so seen; and she did actually foretel the death of several that lived there: she was living in that town this last winter.

The corps candles, or dead men's lights in Wales, which are certain prognostics of death, are well known and attested.

The Second Sight is likewise seen in the isle of Man, as appears by this instance: Captain Leaths, the chief magistrate of Belfast, in his voyage 1690, lost thirteen men by a violent storm, and upon his landing in the isle of Man, an ancient man, clerk to a parish there, told him immediately that he had lost thirteen men: the captain inquiring how he came to the knowledge of that, he answered, that it was by thirteen lights which he had seen come into the churchyard; as Mr. Sacheverel tells us, in his late description of the isle of Man.

It were ridiculous to suppose a combination between the people of the western isles of Scotland, Holland, Wales, and the isle of Man, since they are separated by long seas, and are people of different languages, governments, and interests: they have no correspondence between them, and it is probable, that those inhabiting the north-west isles have never yet heard that any such visions are seen in Holland, Wales, or the isle of Man.

Four men of the village Flodgery in Sky, being at supper, one of them did suddenly let fall his knife on the table, and looked with an angry countenance: the company observing it, inquired his reason; but he returned them no answer until they had supped, and then he told them that when he let fall his knife, he saw a corps with the shroud about it laid on the table, which surprised him, and that a little time would accomplish the vision. It fell out accordingly, for in a few days after, one of the family died, and happened to be laid on that very table. This was told me by the master of the family.

Daniel Stewart an inhabitant of Hole in the north parish of St. Maries in the isle of Sky, saw at noon-day five men on horseback riding northward; he ran to meet them, and when he came to the road, he could see none of them, which was very surprising to him, and he told it his neighbours: the next day he saw the same number of men and horse coming along the road, but was not so ready to meet them as before, until he heard them speak, and then he found them to be those that he had seen the day before in a vision; this was the only vision of the kind he had ever seen in his life. The company he saw was Sir Donald MacDonald and his retinue, who at the time of the vision was at Armidil, near forty miles south from the place where the man lived.

A woman of Stornbay in Lewis had a maid who saw visions, and often fell into a swoon; her mistress was very much concerned about her, but could not find out any means to prevent her seeing those things: at last she resolved to pour some of the water used in baptism on her maid's face, believing this would prevent her seeing any more sights of this kind. And accordingly she carried her maid with her next Lord's day, and both of them sat near the basin in which the water stood, and after baptism before the minister had concluded the last prayer, she put her hand in the bason, took up as much water as she could, and threw it on the maid's face; at which strange action the minister and the congregation were equally surprised. After prayer, the minister inquired of the woman the meaning of such an unbecoming and distracted action; she told him, it was to prevent her maid's seeing visions: and it fell out accordingly, for from that time she never once more saw a vision of any kind. This account was given me by Mr. Morison, minister of the place, before several of his parishioners who knew the truth of it. I submit the matter of fact to the censure of the learned; but for my own part, I think it to have been one of Satan's devices, to make credulous people have an esteem for holy water.

JOHN MORISON of Bragir in Lewis, a person of unquestionable sincerity and reputation, told me, that within a mile of his house, a girl of twelve years old was troubled at the frequent sight of a vision, resembling herself in stature, complexion, dress, &c. and seemed to stand or sit, and to be always employed as the girl was; this proved a great trouble to her: her parents being much concerned about it, consulted the said John Morison, who inquired if the girl was instructed in the principles of her religion, and finding she was not, he bid them teach her the creed, ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer, and that she should say the latter daily after her prayers. Mr. Morison and his family joined in prayer in the girl's behalf, begging that God of his goodness would be pleased to deliver her from the trouble of such a vision: after which, and the girl's complying with the advice as above, she never saw it any more.

A man living three miles to the north of the said John Morison is much haunted by a spirit, appearing in all points like to himself; and he asks many impertinent questions of the man when in the fields, but speaks not a word to him at home, though he seldom misses to appear to him every night in the house, but to no other person. He told this to one of his neighbours, who advised him to cast a live coal at the face of the vision the next time he appeared: the man did so next night, and all the family saw the action; but the following day the same spirit appeared to him in the fields, and beat him severely, so as to oblige him to keep his bed for the space of fourteen days after. Mr. Morison, minister of the parish, and several of his friends came to see the man, and joined in prayer that he might be freed from this trouble, but he was still haunted by that spirit a year after I left Lewis.

A man in Knockow, in the parish of St. Maries, the northermost in Sky, being in perfect health, and sitting with his fellow-servants at night, was on a sudden taken ill, dropped from his seat backward, and then fell a vomiting; at which all the family were much concerned, he having never been subject to the like before: but he came to himself soon after, and had no sort of pain about him. One of the family, who was accustomed to see the Second Sight, told them that the man's illness proceeded from a very strange cause, which was thus: an ill-natured woman (naming her by her name) who lives in the next adjacent village of Bornskittag, came before him in a very furious and angry manner, her countenance full of passion, and her mouth full of reproaches, and threatened him with her head and hands, until he fell over as you have seen him. This woman had a fancy for the man, but was like to meet with a disappointment as to his marrying her. This instance was told me by the master of the family, and others who were present when it happened.

One that lived in St. Maries on the west side of the isle of Sky, told Mr. MacPherson the minister, and others, that he saw a vision of a corps coming towards the church, not by the common road, but by a more rugged way, which rendered the thing incredible, and occasioned his neighbours to call him a fool; but he bid them have patience, and they would see the truth of what he asserted in a short time: and it fell out accordingly; for one of the neighbourhood died, and his corps was carried along the same unaccustomed way, the common road being at that time filled with a deep snow. This account was given me by the minister, and others living there.

Mr. MacPherson's servant foretold that a kiln should take fire, and being some time after reproved by his master for talking so foolishly of the Second Sight, he answered that he could not help his seeing such things as presented themselves to his view in a very lively manner; adding further, I have just now seen that boy sitting by the fire with his face red, as if the blood had been running down his forehead, and I could not avoid seeing this: and as for the accomplishment of it within forty-eight hours, there is no doubt, says he, having appeared in the daytime. The minister became very angry at his man, and charged him never to speak one word more of the Second Sight, or if he could not hold his tongue, to provide himself another master; telling him he was an unhappy fellow, who studied to abuse credulous people with false predictions. There was no more said on this subject until the next day, that the boy of whom the Seer spoke, came in, having his face all covered with blood; which happened by his falling on a heap of stones. This account was given me by the minister and others of his family.

Daniel Dow, alias Black, an inhabitant of

Bornskittag, was frequently troubled at the sight of a man threatening to give him a blow: he knew no man resembling this vision; but the stature, complexion, and habit, were so impressed on his mind, that he said he could distinguish him from any other, if he should happen to see him. About a year after the vision appeared first to him, his master sent him to Kyle-raes, above thirty miles further south-east, where he was no sooner arrived, than he distinguished the man who had so often appeared to him at home; and within a few hours after, they happened to quarrel, and came to blows, so as one of them (I forget which) was wounded in the head. This was told me by the Seer's master, and others who live in the place. The man himself has his residence there, and is one of the precisest Seers in the isles.

Sir Normand MacLeod, and some others playing at tables, at a game called in Irish Falmer-more, wherein there are three of a side, and each of them throw the dice by turns; there happened to be one difficult point in the disposing of one of the table-men: this obliged the gamester to deliberate before he was to change his man, since upon the disposing of it, the winning or losing of the game depended. At last the butler, who stood behind, advised the player where to place his man; with which he complied, and won the game. This being thought extraordinary, and Sir Normand hearing one whisper him in the ear, asked who advised him so skilfully? He answered, it was the butler; but this seemed more strange, for he could not play at tables. Upon this, Sir Normand asked him how long it was since he had learned to play? and the fellow owned that he never played in his life, but that he saw the spirit Browny reaching his arm over the player's head, and touched the part with his finger, on the point where the table-man was to be placed. This was told me by Sir Normand and others, who happened to be present at the time.

Daniel Dow above-named, foretold the death of a young woman in Minginis, within less than twenty-four hours before the time; and accordingly she died suddenly in the fields, though at the time of the prediction she was in perfect health; but the shroud appearing close about her head, was the ground of his confidence, that her death was at hand.

The same Daniel Dow foretold the death of a child in his master's arms, by seeing a spark of fire fall on his left arm; and this was likewise accomplished soon after the prediction.

Some of the inhabitants of Harries sailing round the isle of Sky, with a design to go to the opposite main land, were strangely surprised with an apparition of two men hanging down by the ropes that secured the mast, but could not conjecture what it meant. They pursued the voyage, but the wind turned contrary, and so forced them into Broadford in the isle of Sky, where they found Sir Donald MacDonald keeping a Sheriff's Court, and two criminals receiving sentence of death there: the ropes and mast of that very boat were made use of to hang those criminals. This was told me by several, who had this instance from the boat's crew.

Several persons living in a certain family, told me, that they had frequently seen two men standing at a young gentlewoman's left hand, who was their master's daughter: they told the men's names; and being her equals, it was not doubted but she would be married to one of them; and perhaps to the other, after the death of the first. Some time after, a third man appeared, and he seemed always to stand nearest to her of the three, but the Seers did not know him, though they could describe him exactly. And within some months after, this man, who was seen last, did actually come to the house, and fulfilled the description given of him by those who never saw him but in a vision; and he married the woman shortly after. They live in the isle of Sky; both they and others confirmed the truth of this instance, when I saw them.

MacLeod's porter passing by a galley that lay in the dock, saw her filled with men, having a corps, and near to it he saw several of MacLeod's relations: this did in a manner persuade him that his master was to die soon after, and that he was to be the corps which was to be transported in the galley. Some months after the vision was seen, MacLeod, with several of his relations and others, went to the isle of Mull; where some days after, MacLean of Torlosk happened to die, and his corps was transported in the galley to his burial place, and MacLeod's relations were on board to attend the funeral, while MacLeod staid ashore, and went along with the corps after their landing.

Mr. Dougal MacPherson, minister of St. Maries, on the west side of Sky, having his servants in the kiln, drying of corn, the kiln happened to take fire, but was soon extinguished. And within a few months after, one of the minister's servants told him that the kiln would be on fire again shortly; at which he grew very angry with his man, threatening to beat him if he should presume to prophecy mischief, by that lying way of the Second Sight. Notwithstanding this, the man asserted positively, and with great assurance, that the kiln would certainly take fire, let them use all the precautions they could. Upon this, Mr. MacPherson had the curiosity to inquire of his man, if he could guess within what space of time the kiln would take fire? He told him before Hallowtide. Upon which, Mr. MacPherson called for the key of the kiln, and told his man, that he would take care of the kiln until the limited day was expired, for none shall enter it sooner; and by this means I shall make the devil, if he is the author of such lies, and you both liars. For this end he kept the key of the kiln in his press, until the time was over, and then delivered the key to the servants, concluding his man to be a fool and a cheat. Then the servants went to dry Corn in the kiln, and were charged to have a special care of the fire; yet in a little time after the kiln took fire, and it was all in a flame, according to the prediction, though the man mistook the time. He told his master, that within a few moments after the fire of the kiln had been first extinguished, he saw it all in a flame again; and this appearing to him in the day time, it would come to pass the sooner.

JOHN MACNORMAND and DANIEL MACEWIN,

travelling along the road, two miles to the north of Snisort church, saw a body of men coming from the north, as if they had corps with them to be buried in Snisort: this determined them to advance towards the river, which was then a little before them, and having waited at the ford, thinking to meet those that they expected with the funeral, were altogether disappointed; for after taking a view of the ground all round them, they discovered that it was only a vision. This was very surprising to them both, for they never saw any thing by way of the Second Sight before or after that time. This they told their neighbours when they came home, and it happened that about two or three weeks after, a corps came along that road from another parish, from which few or none are brought to Snisort, except persons of distinction; so that this vision was exactly accomplished.

A gentleman who is a native of Sky, did, when a boy, disoblige a Seer in the isle of Rasay, and upbraid him for his ugliness, as being black by name and nature. At last the Seer told him very angrily, my child, if I am black, you'll be red ere long. The master of the family chid him for this, and bid him give over his foolish predictions, since nobody believed them; but next morning the boy being at play near the houses, fell on a ſtone, and wounded himself in the forehead, so deep, that to this day there's a hollow scar in that part of it.

James Beaton, surgeon, in the isle of North-Uist, told me, that being in the isle of Mull, a Seer told him confidently, that he was shortly to have a bloody forehead; but he disregarded it, and called the Seer a fool. However, this James being called by some of the MacLeans to go along with them to attack a vessel belonging to the earl of Argyle, who was then coming to possess Mull by force; they attacked the vessel, and one of the MacLean's being wounded, the said James while dressing the wound, happened to rub his forehead, and then some of his patient's blood stuck to his face, which accomplished the vision.

My Lord Viscount Tarbat, one of her majesty's secretaries of state in Scotland, travelling in the shire of Ross, in the north of Scotland, came into a house, and sat down in an armed chair: one of his retinue who had the faculty of seeing the Second Sight, spoke to some of my Lord's company, desiring them to persuade him to leave the house; for, said he, there is a great misfortune will attend somebody in it, and that within a few hours. This was told my lord, but he did not regard it: the Seer did soon after renew his intreaty, with much eagerness, begging that my lord might remove out of that unhappy chair, but had no other answer than to be exposed for a fool. Some hours after my lord removed, and pursued his journey; but was not gone many hours when a trooper riding upon the ice, near the house whence my lord removed, fell and broke his thigh, and being afterwards brought in that house, was laid in the armed chair, where his wound was dressed, which accomplished the vision. I heard this instance from several hands, and had it since confirmed by my lord himself.

A man in the parish of St. Maries, in the barony of Troterness in Sky, called Lachlin, lay sick for the space of some months, decaying daily, insomuch that all his relations and acquaintance despaired of his recovery. One of the parishioners, called ARCHIBALD MACDONALD, being reputed famous for his skill in foretelling things to come, by the Second Sight, asserted positively that the sick man would never die in the house where he then lay. This being thought very improbable, all the neighbours condemned Archibald as a foolish prophet: upon which, he passionately affirmed, that if ever that sick man dies in the house where he now lies, I shall from henceforth renounce my part of heaven; adding withal, the sick man was to be carried alive out of the house in which he then lay, but that he would never return to it alive: and then he named the persons that should carry out the sick man alive. The man having lived some weeks longer than his friends imagined, and proving uneasy and troublesome to all the family; they considered that Archibald had reason for his peremptory assertion, and therefore they resolved to carry him to a house joining to that in which he then lay: but the poor man would by no means give his consent to be moved from a place where he believed he should never die; so much did he rely on the words of Archibald, of whose skill he had seen many demonstrations. But at last his friends being fatigued day and night with the sick man's uneasiness, they carried him against his inclination to another little house, which was only separated by an entry from that in which he lay, and their feet were scarce within the threshold, when the sick man gave up the ghost; and it was remarkable that the two neighbours, which Archibald named would carry him out, were actually the persons that did so. At the time of the prediction, Archibald saw him carried out as above, and when he was within the door of the other house, he saw him all white, and the shroud being about him, occasioned his confidence as above mentioned. This is matter of fact, which Mr. Daniel Nicholson, minister of the parish, and a considerable number of the parishioners, are able to vouch for, and ready to attest, if occasion requires.

The same Archibald MacDonald happened to be in the village Knockow one night, and before supper told the family, that he had just then seen the strangest thing he ever saw in his life; to wit, a man with an ugly long cap, always shaking his head: but that the strangest of all, was a little kind of a harp which he had, with four strings only, and that it had two harts-horns fixed in the front of it. All that heard this odd vision, fell a laughing at Archibald, telling him that he was dreaming, or had not his wits about him; since he pretended to see a thing that had no being, and was not so much as heard of in any part of the world. All this could not alter Archibald's opinion, who told them that they must excuse him, if he laughed at them after the accomplishment of the vision. Archibald returned to his own house, and within three or four days after, a man with the cap, harp, &c. came to the house, and the harp, strings, horns, and cap, answered the description of them at first view: he shook his head when he played, for he had two bells fixed to his cap. This harper was a poor man, and made himself a buffoon for his bread, and was never before seen in those parts; for at the time of the prediction, he was in the isle of Barra, which is above twenty leagues distant from that part of Sky. This story is vouched by Mr. Daniel Martin, and all his family, and such as were then present, and live in the village where this happened.

Mr. Daniel Nicholson, minister of St. Maries in Sky, the parish in which Archibald MacDonald lived, told me, that one Sunday after sermon, at the chapel Uge, he took occasion to inquire of Archibald, if he still retained that unhappy faculty of seeing the Second Sight, and he wished him to lay it aside, if possible; for, said he, it is no true character of a good man. Archibald was highly displeased, and answered, that he hoped he was no more unhappy than his neighbours, for seeing what they could not perceive; adding, I had, says he, as serious thoughts as my neighbours, in time of hearing a sermon to-day, and even then I saw a corps laid on the ground close to the pulpit, and I assure you it will be accomplished shortly, for it was in the daytime. Mr. Nicholson and several parishioners then present, endeavoured to dissuade Archibald from this discourse; but he still asserted that it would quickly come to pass, and that all his other predictions of this kind had ever been accomplished. There was none in the parish then sick, and few are buried at that little chapel, nay sometimes not one in a year is buried there; yet when Mr. Nicholson returned to preach in the said chapel, two or three weeks after, he found one buried in the very spot named by Archibald. This story is vouched by Mr. Nicholson, and several of the parishioners still living.

Mr. Daniel Nicholson above-mentioned, being a widower at the age of forty-four, this Archibald saw in a vision a young gentlewoman, in a good dress, frequently standing at Mr. Nicholson's right hand, and this he often told the parishioners positively; and gave an account of her complexion, stature, habit, and that she would in time be Mr. Nicholson's wife: this being told the minister by several of them, he desired them to have no regard to what that foolish dreamer had said; for, said he, it is twenty to one if ever I marry again. Archibald happened to see Mr. Nicholson soon after this slighting expression, however he persisted still in his opinion, and said confidently that Mr. Nicholson would certainly marry, and that the woman would in all points make up the character he gave of her, for he saw her as often as he saw Mr. Nicholson. This story was told me above a year before the accomplishment of it; and Mr. Nicholson, some two or three years after Archibald's prediction, went to a synod in Bute, where he had the first opportunity of seeing one Mrs. Morison, and from that moment fancied her, and afterwards married her. She was no sooner seen in the isle of Sky, than the natives, who had never seen her before, were satisfied that she did completely answer the character given of her, &c. by Archibald.

One who had been accustomed to see the Second Sight, in the isle of Egg, which lies about three or four leagues to the south-west part of the isle of Sky, told his neighbours that he had frequently seen an apparition of a man in a red coat lined with blue, and having on his head a strange sort of blue cap, with a very high cock on the fore-part of it, and that the man who there appeared, was kissing a comely maid in the village where the Seer dwelt; and therefore declared that a man in such a dress would certainly debauch or marry such a young woman. This unusual vision did much expose the Seer, for all the inhabitants treated him as a fool, though he had on several other occasions foretold things that afterwards were accomplished; this they thought one of the most unlikely things to be accomplished, that could have entered into any man's head. This story was then discoursed of in the isle of Sky, and all that heard it, laughed at it; it being a rarity to see any foreigner in Egg, and the young woman had no thoughts of going any where else. This story was told me at Edinburgh, by Normand MacLeod of Graban, in September 1688, he being just then come from the isle of Sky; and there were present, the laird of MacLeod, and Mr. Alexander MacLeod, Advocate, and others.

About a year and a half after the late revolution, Major Ferguson, now Colonel of one of her majesty's regiments of foot, was then sent by the government with six hundred men, and some frigates to reduce the islanders that had appeared for K. J. and perhaps the small isle of Egg had never been regarded, though some of the inhabitants had been at the battle of Killicranky, but by a mere accident, which determined Major Ferguson to go to the isle of Egg, which was this: a boat's crew of the isle of Egg, happened to be in the isle of Sky, and killed one of Major Ferguson's soldiers there; upon notice of which, the Major directed his course to the isle of Egg, where he was sufficiently revenged of the natives: and at the same time, the maid above mentioned being very handsome, was then forcibly carried on board one of the vessels, by some of the soldiers, where she was kept above twenty-four hours, and ravished, and brutishly robbed at the same time of her fine head of hair: she is since married in the isle, and in good reputation; her misfortune being pitied, and not reckoned her crime.

Sir Normand MacLeod, who has his residence in the isle of Bernera, which lies between the isle of North-Uist and Harries, went to the isle of Sky about business, without appointing any time for his return: his servants in his absence, being altogether in the large hall at night, one of them who had been accustomed to see the Second Sight, told the rest they must remove, for they would have abundance of other company in the hall that night. One of his fellow-servants answered, that there was very little appearance of that, and if he had seen any vision of company, it was not like to be accomplished this night: but the Seer insisted upon it, that it was. They continued to argue the improbability of it, because of the darkness of the night, and the danger of coming through the rocks that lie round the isle: but within an hour after, one of Sir Normand's men came to the house, bidding them provide lights, &c. for his master had newly landed; and thus the prediction was immediately accomplished.

Sir Normand hearing of it, called for the Seer, and examined him about it; he answered, that he had seen the spirit called Browny, in human shape, come several times, and make a shew of carrying an old woman that sat by the fire to the door; and at last seemed to carry her out by neck and heels, which made him laugh heartily, and gave occasion to the rest to conclude he was mad, to laugh so without reason. This instance was told me by Sir Normand himself.

Four men from the isle of Sky and Harries having gone to Barbadoes, stayed there for fourteen years; and though they were wont to see the Second Sight in their native country, they never saw it in Barbadoes: but upon their return to England, the first night after their landing, they saw the Second Sight, as was told me by several of their acquaintance.

John Morison, who lives in Bernera of Harries, wears the plant called *Fuga Dæmonum*, sewed in the neck of his coat, to prevent his seeing of visions, and says he never saw any since he first carried that plant about him. He suffered me to feel the plant in the neck of his coat, but would by no means let me open the seam, though I offered him a reward to let me do it.

A spirit, by the country people called Browny, was frequently seen in all the most considerable families in the isles and north of Scotland, in the shape of a tall man; but within these twenty or thirty years past, he is seen but rarely.

There were spirits also that appeared in the shape of women, horses, swine, cats, and some like fiery balls, which would follow men in the fields; but there has been but few instances of these for forty years past.

These spirits used also to form sounds in the air, resembling those of a harp, pipe, crowing of a cock, and of the grinding of querns: and sometimes they have heard voices in the air by night, singing Irish songs; the words of which songs some of my acquaintance still retain. One of them resembled the voice of a woman who had died some time before, and the song related to her state in the other world. These accounts I had from persons of as great integrity as any are in the world.

AN
ACCURATE ACCOUNT
OF
SECOND-SIGHTED MEN
IN
SCOTLAND:

IN TWO LETTERS FROM A LEARNED FRIEND OF MINE IN SCOTLAND.

[Extracted from Aubrey's Miscellanies.]

I. *To Mr. John Aubrey, Fellow of the Royal Society.*

SIR,

FOR your satisfaction I drew up some queries about the Second-Sighted men, and having sent them to the northern parts of this kingdom, some while ago, I received answers to them from two different hands, whereof I am now to give you an account, viz.

QUERY 1. If some few credible, well attested instances of such a knowledge as is commonly called the Second Sight, can be given?

ANSW. Many instances of such knowledge can be given, by the confession of such who are skilled in that faculty: for instances I refer you to the fourth query.

Query 2. If it consists in the discovery of present or past events only? or if it extend to such as are to come?

Answ. The Second Sight relates only to things future, which will shortly come to pass. Past events I learn nothing of it.

Query 3. If the objects of this knowledge, be sad and dismal events only; such as deaths and murders? or, joyful and prosperous also?

Answ. Sad and dismal events, are the objects of this knowledge: as sudden deaths, dismal accidents. That they are prosperous, or joyful, I cannot learn. Only one instance I have from a person worthy of credit, and thereby judge of the joyfulness, or prosperity of it, and it is this. Near 40 years ago, Macklean and his lady, sister to my Lord Seaforth, were walking about their own house, and in their return both came into the nurse's chamber, where their young child was on the breast: at their coming into the room, the nurse falls a weeping; they asked the cause, dreading the child was sick, or that she was scarce of milk: the nurse replied, the child was well, and she had abundance of milk; yet she still wept; and being pressed to tell what ailed her; she at last said Macklean would die, and the lady would shortly be married to another man. Being inquired how she knew that event, she told them plainly, that as they came both into the room, she saw a man with a scarlet cloak and a white hat betwixt them, giving the lady a kiss over the shoulder; and this was the cause of weeping. All which came to pass after Macklean's death; the tutor of Lovat married the lady in the same habit the woman saw him. Now by this instance, judge if it be prosperous to one, it is as dismal to another.

QUERY 4. If these events which Second-Sighted men discover, or foretell, be visibly represented to them, and acted, as it were before their eyes?

ANSW. Affirmatively, they see those things visibly; but none sees but themselves; for instance, if a man's fatal end be hanging, they will see a gibbet, or a rope about his neck: if beheaded, they will see the man without a head; if drowned, they will see water up to his throat; if unexpected death, they will see a windingsheet about his head: all which are represented to their view. One instance I had from a gentleman here; of a Highland gentleman of the MacDonalds, who having a brother that came to visit him, saw him coming in, wanting a head; yet told not his brother he saw any such thing; but within twenty-four hours thereafter, his brother was taken, (being a murderer) and his head cut off, and sent to Edinburgh. Many such instances might be given.

QUERY 5. If the Second Sight be a thing that is troublesome and uneasy to those that have it, and such as they would gladly be rid of?

ANSW. It is commonly talked by all I spoke with, that it is troublesome; and they would gladly be freed from it, but cannot: only I heard lately of a man very much troubled in his soul therewith, and by serious begging of God deliverance from it, at length lost the faculty of the Second Sight.

Query 6. If any person, or persons, truly godly, who may justly be presumed to be such, have been known to have had this gift or faculty?

Answ. Negatively, not any godly, but such as are vicious.

Query 7. If it descends by succession from parents to children? or if not, whether those that have it can tell how they came by it?

Answ. That it is by succession I cannot learn; how they came by it, is hard to know, neither will they tell; which if they did, they are sure of their strokes from an invisible hand. One instance I heard of one Allan Miller, being in company with some gentlemen, having gotten a little more than ordinary of that strong liquor they were drinking, began to tell stories and strange passages he had been at: but the said Allan was suddenly removed to the further end of the house, and was there almost strangled; recovering a little, and coming to the place where he was before, they asked him, what it was that troubled him so? he answered he durst not tell; for he had told too much already.

Query 8. How came they by it?

Answ. Some say by compact with the devil; some say by converse with those demons we call fairies. I have heard, that those that have this faculty of the Second Sight, have offered to teach it to such as were curious to know it; upon such and such conditions they would teach them; but their proffers were rejected.

This is all I could learn by tradition of that faculty, from knowing and intelligent men. If this satisfy not these queries aforesaid, acquaint me, and what can be known of it shall be transmitted.

I cannot pass by an instance I have from a very honest man in the next parish, who told me it himself. That his wife being big with child near her delivery, he buys half a dozen of boards to make her a bed against the time she lay in. The boards lying at the door of his house, there comes an old fisher-woman, yet alive, and asked him, whose were those boards? he told her they were his own; she asked again, for what use he had them? he replied for a bed; she again said, intend them for what use you please, she saw a dead corpse lying upon them, and that they would be a coffin: which struck the honest man to the heart, fearing the death of his wife. But when the old woman went off, he calls presently for a carpenter to make the bed, which was accordingly done; but shortly after the honest man had a child died, whose coffin was made of the ends of those boards.

Sir, the original, whereof this that I have writ, is a true copy, was sent by a minister, living within some few miles of Inverness, to a friend of mine whom I employed to get information for me; as I insinuated before: I have other answers to these queries from another hand, which I purposed to have communicated to you at this time; but I find there will not be room enough for them in this sheet; howbeit, in case you think it fit, they shall be sent you afterward.

In the mean time, I shall tell you what I have had from one of the masters of our college here (a north country man both by birth and education, in his younger years), who made a journey in the harvest time into the shire of Ross, and at my desire, made some inquiry there, concerning the Second Sight. He reports, that they there told him many instances of this knowledge, which he had forgotten, except two. The first, one of his sisters, a young gentlewoman, staying with a friend at some thirty miles distance from her father's house, and the ordinary place of her residence; one who had the Second Sight in the family where she was, saw a young man attending her as she went up and down the house, and this was about three months before her marriage. The second is of a woman in that country who is reputed to have the Second Sight, and declared, that eight days before the death of a gentleman there, she saw a bier or coffin covered with a cloth which she knew, carried, as it were, to the place of burial, and attended with a great company, one of which told her it was the corpse of such a person, naming that gentleman, who died eight days after. By these instances it appears, that the objects of this knowledge are not sad and dismal events only, but joyful and prosperous ones also: he declares further, that he was informed there, if I mistake not, by some of those who had the Second Sight, that if at any time when they see those strange sights, they set their foot upon the foot of another who hath not the Second Sight, that other will for that time see what they are seeing; as also that they offered, if he pleased, to communicate the

Second Sight to him. I have nothing more to add at present, but that I am,

Sir,

Your faithful friend,

And humble servant.

II. *To Mr. John Aubrey, Fellow of the Royal Society, at Gresham College, London.*

HONOURED SIR,

Since my last to you, I have had the favour of two letters from you: to the first, dated February 6th, I had replied sooner, but that I wanted leisure to transcribe some further accounts of a Second-Sighted man, sent me from the north, whereof (in obedience to your desire) I give here the doubles.

May the 1st, 1694.

A Copy of an Answer to some Queries concerning Second-Sighted Men, sent by a Minister living near Inverness, to a Friend of mine.

Query 1. That there is such an art, commonly called the Second Sight, is certain, from these following instances.

First, in a gentleman's house, one night the mistress considering why such persons whom she expected were so late, and so long a coming, the supper being all the while delayed for them; a servant man about the house (finding the mistress anxious) having the Second Sight, desires to cover the table, and before all things were put on, those persons she longed for would come in; which happened accordingly.

The second instance, concerning a young lady of great birth, whom a rich knight fancied and came in suit of the lady, but she could not endure to fancy him, being a harsh and unpleasant man: but her friends importuning her daily, she turned melancholy and lean, fasting and weeping continually. A common fellow about the house meeting her one day in the fields, asked her, saying, Mrs. Kate, what is that, that troubles you, and makes you look so ill; she replied, that the cause is known to many, for my friends would have me marry such a man by name, but I cannot fancy him. Nay, (says the fellow) give over these niceties, for he will be your first husband, and will not live long, and be sure he will leave you a rich dowry, which will procure you a great match, for I see a lord upon each shoulder of you: all which came to pass in every circumstance; as eye and ear witnesses declare.

A third instance, of a traveller coming in to a certain house, desired some meat: the mistress being something nice and backward to give him victuals; you need not, says he, churl me in a piece of meat; for before an hour and half be over, a young man of such a stature and garb will come in with a great salmon-fish on his back, which I behold yonder on the floor; and it came to pass within the said time.

A fourth instance, of a young woman in a certain house about supper-time, refused to take meat from the steward who was offering in the very time meat to her; being asked why she would not take it? replied, she saw him full of blood, and therefore was afraid to take any thing of his hands. The next morning, the said steward offering to compose a difference between two men, at an alehouse door, got a stroke of a sword on the forehead, and came home full of blood. This was told me by an eyewitness.

QUERY 2. Those that have this faculty of the Second Sight, see only things to come, which are to happen shortly thereafter, and sometimes foretell things which fall out three or four years after. For instance, one told his master, that he saw an arrow in such a man through his body, and yet no blood came out: his master told him, that it was impossible an arrow should stick in a man's body, and no blood come out, and if that came not to pass, he would be deemed an impostor. But about five or six years after the man died, and being brought to his burial-place, there arose a debate anent his grave, and it came to such a height, that they drew arms, and bended their bows; and one letting off an arrow, shot through the dead body upon the bier-trees, and so no blood could issue out at a dead man's wound. Thus his sight could not inform him whether the arrow should be shot in him alive or dead, neither could he condescend whether near or afar off.

QUERY 3. They foresee murders, drownings, weddings, burials, combats, manslaughters, of all which, many instances might be given. Lately (I believe in August last, 1695) one told there would be drowning in the river Bewly, which came to pass: two pretty men crossing a ford both drowned, which fell out within a month. Another instance: a man that served the bishop of Caithness, who had five daughters in his house, one of them grudged that the burthen of the family lay on her wholly: the fellow told her that ere long she should be exonered of that task, for he saw a tall gentleman in black, walking on the Bishop's right hand, whom she should marry: and this fell out accordingly, within a quarter of a year thereafter. He told also of a covered table, full of varieties of good fare, and their garbs who sat about the table.

QUERY 4. They see all this visibly acted before their eyes; sometimes within, and sometimes without doors, as in a glass.

QUERY 5. It is a thing very troublesome to them that have it, and would gladly be rid of it. For if the object be a thing that is so terrible, they are seen to sweat and tremble, and shriek at the apparition. At other times they laugh, and tell the thing cheerfully, just according as the thing is pleasant or astonishing.

QUERY 6. Sure it is, that the persons that have a sense of God and religion, and may be presumed to be godly, are known to have this faculty. This evidently appears, in that they are troubled for having it, judging it a sin, that it came from the devil, and not from God; earnestly desiring and wishing to be rid of it, if possible; and to that effect, have made application to their minister, to pray to God for them that they might be exonered from that burden. They have supplicated the presbytery, who judicially appointed public prayers to be made in several churches, and a sermon preached to that purpose, in their own parish church, by their minister; and they have compeared before the pulpit, after sermon, making confession openly of that sin, with deep sense on their knees; renounced any such gift or faculty which they had to God's dishonour, and earnestly desired the minister to pray for them; and this their recantation recorded; and after this, they were never troubled with such a sight any more.

A Copy of a Letter, written to myself by a Gentleman's Son in Strathspey, in Scotland, being a Student in Divinity, concerning the Second Sight.

SIR,

I am more willing than able to satisfy your desire: as for instances of such a knowledge, I could furnish many. I shall only insert some few attested by several of good credit yet alive.

And, first, Andrew MacPherson, of Clunie, in Badenoch, being in suit of Lord of Gareloch's daughter, as he was upon a day going to Gareloch, the Lady Gareloch was going somewhere from her house, within kenning, to the road which Clunie was coming; the Lady perceiving him, said to her attendants, that yonder was Clunie, going to see his mistress: one that had this Second Sight in her company replied, and said, if yon be he, unless he marry within six months, he will never marry. The Lady asked, how did he know that? he said, very well, for I see him, saith he, all inclosed in his windingsheet, except his nostrils and his mouth, which will also close up within six months; which happened even as he foretold; within the said space he died, and his brother Duncan MacPherson this present Clunie succeeded. This and the like may satisfy your fourth query, he seeing the man even then covered all over with his dead linens. The event was visibly represented, and as it were acted (before his eyes), and also the last part of your second query, viz. that it was yet to come. As for the rest of the questions, viz. That they discover present and past events, is also manifest, thus: I have heard of a gentleman, whose son had gone abroad, and being anxious to know how he was, he went to consult one who had this faculty, who told him, that that same day, five o'clock in the afternoon, his son had married a woman in France, with whom he had got so many thousand crowns, and within two years he should come home to see father and friends, leaving his wife with child of a daughter, and a son of six months age behind him: which accordingly was true. About the same time two years he came home, and verified all that was foretold.

It is likewise ordinary with persons that lose any thing, to go to some of these men, by whom they are directed; how, what persons, and in what place they shall find it. But all such as profess that skill, are not equally dexterous in it. For instance, two of them were in Mr. Hector MacKenzie, minister of Inverness, his father's house; the one a gentleman, the other a common fellow;

and discoursing by the fireside, the fellow suddenly begins to weep, and cry out, alas! alas! such a woman is either dead, or presently expiring. The gentlewoman lived five or six miles from the house, and had been some days before in a fever. The gentleman being somewhat better expert in that faculty, said; no, saith he, she is not dead; nor will she die of this disease. O, saith the fellow, do you not see her all covered with her winding-sheet; ay, saith the gentleman, I see her as well as you; but do you not see her linen all wet, which is her sweat? she being presently cooling of the fever. This story Mr. Hector himself will testify. The most remarkable of this sort, that I hear of now, is one Archibald MacKeanyers, alias MacDonald, living in Ardinmurch, within ten or twenty miles, or thereby, of Glencoe, and I was present myself, where he foretold something which accordingly fell out in 1688; this man being in Strathspey, in John MacDonald of Glencoe his company, told in Ballachastell, before the Lord of Grant, his Lady, and several others, and also in my father's house; that Argyle, of whom few or none knew then where he was, at least there was no word of him then here; should within two twelve months thereafter, come to the West Highlands, and raise a rebellious faction, which would be divided among themselves, and disperse, and he unfortunately be taken and beheaded at Edinburgh, and his head set upon the tolbooth, where his father's head was before him; which proved as true, as he foretold it, in 1685, thereafter. Likewise in the beginning of May next after the late revolution, as my Lord Dundee returned up Spey side, after he had followed Major-General MacKay in his rear down the length of Edinglassie, at the Milntown of Gartinbeg, the MacLeans joined him, and after he had received them, he marched forward, but they remained behind, and fell a plundering: upon which, Glencoe and some others, among whom was this Archibald, being in my father's house, and hearing that MacLeans and others were pillaging some of his lands, went to restrain them, and commanded them to march after the army; after he had cleared the first town, next my father's house of them, and was come to the second, there standing on a hill, this Archibald said, Glencoe, if you take my advicc, then make off with yourself with all possible haste, ere an hour come and go you will be put to it as hard as ever you was: some of the company began to droll and say, what shall become of me? whether Glencoe believed him, or no, I cannot tell; but this I am sure of, that whereas before he was of intention to return to my father's house and stay all night, now we took leave, and immediately parted. And indeed, within an hour thereafter, MacKay, and his whole forces appeared at Culnakyle in Abernethy, two miles below the place where we parted, and hearing that Claverhouse had marched up the water side a little before, but that MacLeans, and several other stragglers, had staid behind, commanded Major Æneas MacKay, with two troops of horse after them; who finding the said MacLeans at Kinchardie, in the parish of Luthel, chased them up the Morskaith: in which chase Glencoe happened to be, and was hard put to it, as was foretold. What came of Archibald himself, I am not sure; I have not seen him since, nor can I get a true account of him, only I know he is yet alive, and at that time one of my father's men, whom the red-coats meeting, compelled to guide them, within sight of the MacLeans, found the said Archibald's horse within a mile of the place where I left him. I am also informed, this Archibald said to Glencoe, that he would be murdered in the night-time, in his own house, three months before it happened.

Touching your third query, the objects of this knowledge, are not only sad and dismal; but also joyful and prosperous: thus they foretell of happy marriages, good children, what kind of life men shall live, and in what condition they shall die: and riches, honour, preferment, peace, plenty and good weather.

Query 6. What way they pretend to have it? I am informed, that in the Isle of Sky, especially before the gospel came thither, several families had it by succession, descending from parents to children, and as yet there be many there that have it that way; and the only way to be freed from it is, when a woman hath it herself, and is married to a man that hath it also; if in the very act of delivery, upon the first sight of the child's head, it be baptized, the same is free from it; if not, he hath it all his life; by which, it seems, it is a thing troublesome and uneasy to them that have it, and such as they would fain be rid of. And may satisfy your ninth query. And for your further contentment in this query, I heard of my father, that there was one John dhu beg MacGrigor, a Reanach man born, very expert in this knowledge, and my father coming one day from Inverness, said by the way, that he would go into an alehouse on the road, which then would be about five miles off. This John MacGrigor being in his company, and taken up a slate stone at his foot, and looking to it, replied; nay, said he, you will not go in there, for there is but a matter of a gallon of ale in it even now, and ere we come to it, it will be all near drunken, and those who are drinking there, are strangers to us, and ere we be hardly past the house, they will discord among themselves: which fell out so; ere we were two pair of butts past the house, those that were drinking there went by the ears, wounded and mischieved one another. My father, by this and several other things of this nature, turned curious of this faculty, and being very intimate with the man, told him he would fain learn it: to which he answered, that indeed he could in three days time teach him if he pleased; but yet he would not advise him nor any man to learn it; for had he onee learned, he would never be a minute of his life but he would see innumerable men and women night and day round about him; which perhaps he would think wearisome and unpleasant, for which reason my father would not have it. But as skilful as this man was, yet he knew not what should be his own last end; which was hanging: and I am informed, that most, if not all of them, though they can foresee what shall happen to others: yet they cannot foretell, much less prevent, what shall befall themselves. I am also informed by one who came last summer from the Isle of Sky, that any person that pleases will get it taught him for a pound or two of tobacco.

As for your last query. For my own part, I can hardly believe they can be justly presumed, much less truly godly. As for this MacGrigor, several report, that he was a very civil discreet man, and some say he was of good deportment, and also unjustly hanged. But Archibald MacKeanyers will not deny himself, but once he was one of the most notorious thieves in all the Highlands: but I am informed since I came to this knowledge, which was by an accident too long here to relate, that he is turned honester than before.

There was one James MacCoil vic Alaster, alias Grant, in Glenbeum near Kirkmichael in Strathawin, who had this sight, who I hear of several that were well acquainted with, was a very honest man, and of right blameless conversation. He used ordinarily by looking to the fire, to foretell what strangers would come to his house the next day, or shortly thereafter, by their habit and arms, and sometimes also by their names; and if any of his goods or cattle were missing, he would direct his servants to the very place where to find them, whether in a mire or upon dry ground; he would also tell, if the beast were already dead, or if it would die ere they could come to it; and in winter, if they were thick about the fireside, he would desire them to make room for some others that stood by, though they did not see them, else some of them, would be quickly thrown into the midst of it. But whether this man saw any more than Brownie and Meg Mullach, I am not very sure; some say, he saw more continually, and would often be very angry like, and something troubled, nothing visibly moving him: others affirm he saw these two continually, and sometimes many more.

They generally term this Second Sight in Irish Taishitaraughk, and such as have it Taishatrin, from Taish, which is properly a shadowy substance, or such naughty, and imperceptible thing, as can only, or rather scarcely be discerned by the eye; but not caught by the hands: for which they assigned it to bogles or ghosts, so that Taishter, is as much as one that converses with ghosts or spirits, or as they commonly call them, the fairies or fairie folks. Others call these men Phisicin, from Phis, which is properly foresight or foreknowledge. This is the surest and clearest account of Second-Sighted men that I can now find, and I have set it down fully, as if I were transiently telling it, in your own presence, being curious for nothing but the verity, so far as I could. What you find improper or superfluous, you can best compendise it, &c.

Thus far this letter, written in a familiar and homely style, which I have here set down at length. Meg Mullach, and Brownie mentioned in the end of it, are two ghosts, which (as it is constantly reported) of old, haunted a family in Strathspey, of the name of Grant. They appeared at first in the likeness of a young lass; the second of a young lad.

Dr. Moulin (who presents his service to you) hath no acquaintance in Orkney; but I have just now spoken with one, who not only hath acquaintance in that country, but also entertains some thoughts of going thither himself, to get me an account of the cures usually practised there. The Cortex Winteranus, mentioned by you as an excellent medicine, I have heard it commended as good for the scurvy; if you know it to be eminent or specific (such as the Peruvian bark is) for any disease, I shall be well pleased to be informed by you.

Thus, Sir, you have an account of all my informations concerning Second-Sighted men: I have also briefly touched all the other particulars in both your letters, which needed a reply, except your thanks so liberally and obligingly returned to me for my letters, and the kind sense you express of that small service. The kind reception which you have given to those poor trifles, and the value which you put on them, I consider as effects of your kindness to myself, and as engagements on me to serve you to better purpose when it shall be in the power o

Your faithful friend,

And servant, &c.

ADDITAMENTS

OF

SECOND SIGHT.

DIEMERBROECK, in his book *de Peste*, (i. e. of the Plague,) gives us a story of Dimmerus de Raet, that being at Delft, where the pestilence then raged, sent then his wife thirty miles off. And when the doctor went to see the gentleman of the house, as soon as he came in, the old chair-woman that washed the clothes fell a weeping: he asked her why? said she, my mistress is now dead; I saw her apparition but just now without a head, and that it was usual with her when a friend of her's died, to see their apparitions in that manner, though never so far off. His wife died at that time.

Mr. Thomas May, in his History, lib. 8, writes, that an old man (like a hermit), Second-Sighted, took his leave of King James I., when he came into England: he took little notice of Prince Henry, but addressing himself to the Duke of York, (since King Charles I.,) fell a weeping to think what misfortunes he should undergo; and that he should be one of the miserablest unhappy Princes that ever was.

A Scotch nobleman sent for one of these Second-Sighted men out of the Highlands, to give his judgment of the then great favourite George Villers, Duke of Buckingham; as soon as ever he saw him, "Pish!" said he, "he will come to nothing. I see a dagger in his breast;" and he was stabbed in the breast by Captain Felton.

Sir James Melvil hath several the like stories in his Memoirs. Folio.

A certain old man in South Wales, told a great man there of the fortune of his family: and that there should not be a third male generation.

In Spain there are those they call Saludadores, that have this kind of gift. There was a Portugueze Dominican Friar, belonging to Queen Katherine Dowager's chapel, who had the Second Sight.

FINIS.

Chapman, Printer, Glasgow.
1819.